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THE

WORKS

OF

MATTHEW HORBERY, D.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXXVIII.

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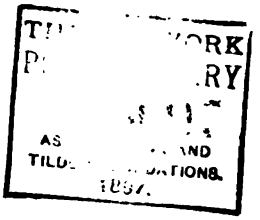

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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE

CONCERNING

THE DURATION

OF

FUTURE PUNISHMENT:

IN WHICH

THE TEXTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT RELATING TO THIS SUBJECT ARE CONSIDERED; AND THE DOCTRINE, DRAWN FROM THEM ALONE, IS SHEWN TO BE CONSISTENT WITH REASON.

OCCASIONED BY SOME LATE WRITINGS,

AND PARTICULARLY

MR. WHISTON'S DISCOURSE OF HELL TORMENTS.

Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.
2 COR. V. 11.

For our God is a consuming fire. HEB. xii. 29.

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PREFACE.

THERE will be so much occasion for the reader's candour throughout the following performance, that it would be imprudent to offend him by omitting any usual instance of civility. It is however of little consequence to the public, to be told how I came to be engaged in *this dispute*; *only it may be said*, that this inquiry should either have been published sooner, or not at all: sooner, that it might have obviated the ill effects of Mr. Whiston's book; or not at all now, since he has been answered by others, and particularly by Mr. Dodwell, in two excellent Discourses before the University of Oxford.

I love no disguise in any case, in this I need none; the plain truth is this:—Mr. Whiston's book had been published a considerable time before I was desired to write against it; when I had undertaken this task, I finished it as soon as I was able, and as fast as other business and avocations would give me leave. And though this Treatise comes late, yet if I have in any measure compassed my design, and confirmed the point I defend, I flatter myself that it may still be useful. While opinions are confined to books, they are of little consequence to the world in

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general; and it is to little purpose to raise or continue disputes about them. But the doctrine here opposed is of another kind: it is so agreeable to the wishes and inclinations of some people, that they are ready to believe it, not only independently of Mr. Whiston's book, but perhaps without any reasoning, or reading, upon the subject at all. It is enough for them to hear that a learned man has writ something against the eternity of hell torments. The rest they take for granted; they question not but it must be so as he says; for the doctrine of a miserable eternity always seemed to them absurd and incredible.

There is little hope of prevailing upon such persons as these, to read any thing on the other side. But then they may hear, as they did in the other case, that the point is far from being so clear and certain as they seem to imagine;—that it still appears to be the doctrine of the New Testament, that there will be no alteration of the state of wicked men after the day of judgment;—that annihilation is a dream, and the hypothesis of a reestablishment more visionary and extravagant than that;—that therefore they should not so hastily take for granted what has never yet been proved; nor talk and act as if hell torments were not perpetual, till they are very sure that they are in the right. In a word, if the following inquiry can contribute to make men a little more cautious upon this article, and to reflect

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on what they are doing before it be too late, it will do good service to the world; and then the affair of its appearing so long after the book that occasioned it will be merely an incident not worth regarding.

As to the other question,—What need of this after Mr. Dodwell's Discourses? I answer, that it was finished before his Discourses were published; and as it likewise takes in a larger compass than the nature of that gentleman's design would admit of, it was judged proper not to suppress it. I mention this, lest I should be suspected of vanity, as if I thought myself capable of improving an argument which had been handled by so good a writer; an imagination of all others the furthest from my thoughts.

As to the work itself, I can only say this, that, however imperfect the performance may be, I have taken the right method to find out the truth. I have endeavoured to collect the doctrine of the New Testament, I think, from all the texts in it relating to the argument I am upon; and I have attempted to clear this doctrine from the difficulties objected to it, in point of reason; with what success, the public only must judge. But surely, if our doctrine must be rejected, it will not be in consequence of what Mr. Whiston has said against it. There is little reasoning in that gentleman's book;—some scripture explained as he pleases, and sometimes in-

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general; and it is to little [illegible] of conjecture [illegible] tinue disputes about them [illegible]tion of testim[illegible] opposed is of another [illegible]different ve[illegible] the wishes and inclina[illegible]s. But are ready to believ[illegible]ness, Mr. Whiston's bo[illegible]y co soning, or read[illegible] enough for th[illegible] writ someth[illegible]emains. It puts ments. T[illegible]entioned by his favourite tion not[illegible] *here was gathered together a* trine [illegible] *of men, out of number*:—but no absu[illegible]uld these men engage, than *upon a sud-*[illegible] *of an innumerable multitude nothing was to be perceived, but only dust and smoke.*

However, as Mr. Whiston had endeavoured to support his cause by authorities, I thought it not proper to leave mine wholly destitute of the same advantage. For this reason I willingly quoted such passages as I met with, either in ancient or modern writers of note and eminency, that were serviceable to my purpose. But it is needless perhaps to make any apology for these quotations: they are possibly

[a] Thus, for instance, rather than give the plain and full sense of his authors, he will translate them into something little less than contradiction. Page 65, we find Polycarp speaking of that fire which is *lasting, and never* (*μηδέποτε*) *to be quenched.* Why then is not *αἰώνιον* rendered *everlasting*? So again, p. 70, he makes the author of the Recognitions talk of *the punishments of lasting fire,* (N. B.) *without end.*

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CONTENTS.

THE INTRODUCTION - - - - - - p. 1.

CHAP. I.

Wherein the testimonies of the four Gospels, relating to this subject, are considered - - - - - p. 7.

CHAP. II.

Wherein the testimonies of the other books of the New Testament are produced - - - - - p. 79.

CHAP. III.

In which the doctrine collected from the texts above cited is further asserted, and reconciled with the moral perfections of God - - - - - - - - - p. 136.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the system of the restoration, or reestablishment - - - - - - - - - - p. 185.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the annihilation of the wicked: and also concerning repentance in hades - - - - - p. 227.

CHAP. VI.

The use and importance of the doctrine defended above p. 259.

ANIMADVERSIONS UPON A LATE PAMPHLET, ENTITLED, "CHRISTIAN LIBERTY ASSERTED, AND THE SCRIPTURE "DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY VINDICATED, BY A CLER- "GYMAN IN THE COUNTRY" - - - - - p. 275.

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THE

INTRODUCTION.

THE several treatises which have, within these late years, been published against the doctrine of the eternity of future punishments; and the too great success which, it may be feared, they have met with in a licentious and unbelieving age; may have rendered it perhaps but too necessary to examine this subject once more, and to try, whether it cannot be reasonably and fairly defended. It has long appeared in the world as a doctrine of the gospel, and been received under that character; which, though indeed it be no proof that it really is so, is yet an argument that it should not rashly be rejected. It ought, at least, to be set in a proper light, have its proper evidence produced for it, and have at last a fair and impartial hearing. When this is done, it must take its chance; the cause will then be determined, not by general exclamations, not by hard names, and abusive invectives; not by appeals to the pity and passions of men, not by spurious authorities; (none of which are of any weight at all in the case;) but by what alone ought to determine it, true genuine scripture, and right reason.

That this doctrine may be maintained upon this footing, I am fully persuaded; but whether I am able to maintain it, is a point which I have reason to be much less sure of. However, it is but reasonable, that every one should distinguish between the

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cause itself, and the defence of it. No part of true religion is naturally connected with any man's way of supporting it; but is certainly, in itself, capable of a rational vindication, whether his attempts to vindicate it succeed or fail: and I desire religion may have the benefit of this observation, against any injury I myself may do it.

My design in these papers is not to confine my thoughts and method to that of any one particular writer; but as the gentlemen, who have distinguished themselves on the negative side of this question, proceed upon different principles, and advance arguments and hypotheses not very consistent with one another, I shall take a wider compass than perhaps is necessary to answer any one of them, and treat of the subject in such a manner, that none of their sentiments may appear to be wholly neglected. However, as Mr. Whiston is the latest writer upon this subject; as he complains, that some others before him did not go to the bottom of it [a]; and may therefore be supposed to imagine that he himself has done it; and likewise as his performance was the immediate occasion of mine; a more particular regard will be paid to him in the course of these observations. Now this gentleman tells us, that there is not "so "much as one plain testimony [b]," either in the Old or New Testament, for this doctrine of eternal torments; that they are "entirely unjust in their own "nature; extremely cruel and barbarous, both in the "threatening, and in the execution; and what any "one, that believes and considers the exact justice, "and infinite goodness of God, cannot possibly be-"lieve at the same time [c]. If the common doctrine,"

[a] Page 2, 136. [b] P. 19. [c] P. 136.

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he says, "were certainly true, the justice of God "must inevitably be given up, and much more his "mercy; for this doctrine supposes him to delight "in cruelty and barbarity, the most savage cruelty "and barbarity possible[d]; that these punishments "answer no good end, but are only instances of the "absolute and supreme power and dominion of the "cruel and inexorable Author of their being[e];" and that "this amazing, this most pernicious, this horrid "doctrine, is unjustly fathered upon our holy reli-"gion[f]."

Many more passages to this purpose might be collected out of Mr. Whiston's book; but I take no delight in such work, and have repeated these with no other view, than as they may contribute to open my design, and serve to introduce what I have to offer upon the subject. Only, before I proceed further, it may be proper to take notice, that I have nothing to do with the doctrine as Mr. Whiston has represented it, and as he seems to think it is commonly held and believed. I contend for no doctrine, that supposes God to delight in cruelty; for no punishments, that are instances only of absolute and supreme power and dominion. All such doctrines as these Mr. Whiston may confute as long as he pleases; he will have no adversary in me. I likewise agree with him, that a distinction should be made between the heathen, and those that never heard of the gospel, and Christians, or those to whom that gospel has been preached[g]. To these latter, with my consent, let the controversy be confined: they are, for certain, the persons properly concerned in a dispute about the punishments con-

[d] Page 137. [e] P. 19. [f] P. 137. [g] P. 111.

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tained in the gospel. But then, on the other hand, the gospel is the only proper authority to determine this question. Testimonies from apocryphal or spurious writers will signify little. And as the Old Testament has nothing so clear and express upon this subject as the New, and contains nothing contrary to the New Testament, it will be sufficient to examine how this matter is decided there.

Accordingly, I shall consider all the texts of the New Testament relating to this subject, and collect the doctrine from them alone. I shall then endeavour to clear this scripture doctrine from all imputations of injustice and cruelty, to reconcile it with the moral perfections of God, and shew, that it is so far from being what no one can possibly believe, that, upon the joint evidence of nature, philosophy, and revelation, it is perfectly credible. And if there be any particular objections that will not fall under these articles, they also shall be distinctly considered. Thus far I shall be chiefly upon the defensive; but I shall not content myself merely with that. As the adversaries have advanced different schemes of their own, some being for the hypothesis of annihilation, and others for the system, as they call it, of a restoration; I shall take these schemes into consideration, and shew, that they are attended with difficulties not easy to be removed: so that if, after all, I should not be able to clear the doctrine I defend from all difficulties whatever, yet there would be no sense in rejecting it for the sake of other hypotheses, not clear from equal difficulties themselves, and supported by much less (perhaps by no) evidence of scripture. Lastly, as Mr. Whiston seems to intimate, that this eternity of future punishments is so far

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from being a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, that it is rather a point of small consequence [h]; and likewise, that his doctrine is as likely to move and influence men, as this [i]; and something to the same purpose has been suggested by another writer, in favour of his system of a restoration—I must therefore examine this pretence, and shew the use and importance of the doctrine I defend.

Every one will see, that I have drawn out for myself the plan of a work which will be of some length; and which therefore, for the sake both of ease and method, must be divided into several chapters.

[h] Pages 102, 103. [i] P. 141.

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AN

INQUIRY

INTO

THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE

OF

FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

CHAP. I.

Wherein the testimonies of the four Gospels, relating to this subject, are considered.

Num. I.

Matt. iii. 10, 12. *And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

Num. II.

Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

I CITE these passages together, because, under different similitudes, they seem to establish the same truth, and explain and illustrate each other. They are a key, as it were, which opens to us the nature and design of Christ's kingdom. In this, it seems, there will be made, some time or other, a total and final separation between the good and the evil; and the texts both suppose, that there will be men, whose moral state will answer to the *tree which bringeth*

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not forth good fruit, and to the *chaff*, who, like them, therefore, are to be rejected, and *whose end is to be burned*. Upon the evidence arising from these texts, there is no more hope of the restoration of this kind of men, than of the restoration of the *tree, which is hewn down, and cast into the fire*; or of the conversion of *chaff* into *wheat*. They conclude therefore plainly against the system of a restoration. But then, as to annihilation, they are so far from opposing that, that, if we will believe Mr. Whiston, they are strongly for it. The words in the latter text, "compare the wicked to *chaff*, which is not "laid up in garners, as wheat is for its preservation, "but entirely burnt up for its destruction: which is "strong against those, that suppose the wicked to "have their lives preserved on purpose that they "may be subject to never-ending pains; and plainly "implies, that their punishment shall end much "sooner by an utter destruction, or what we should "call annihilation [a]." If, in answer to this, any stress should be laid upon the word *unquenchable*, Mr. Whiston perhaps would reply, that that only means this fire shall never be quenched till the wicked are utterly destroyed [b]: or the fire itself may continue longer than the torments of particular offenders, and "be the common place of torment for "sinners in different ages and periods of the world, "one after another [c]."

As to the first supposition, that by *unquenchable fire* is only meant, that no one shall quench this fire before the wicked are utterly consumed; it does not come up to the first most obvious and natural idea

[a] P. 42. See also p. 34. [b] See p. 24. [c] P. 49.

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of the word: for, as far as the force of the word is concerned, I can make neither more nor less of *unquenchable fire*, than fire that never can (or never shall) be quenched. Besides, it takes for granted the chief thing to be proved, that the wicked will be utterly destroyed, or annihilated. The same may be said of his other supposition, which is only a private and (as far as appears) a groundless conjecture. There is no intimation in scripture, that this *unquenchable fire* shall be the common place of torments for sinners successively, or last longer than they do. In short, both these are only expedients which prove nothing, but, supposing Mr. Whiston's hypothesis to be true, would reconcile this expression with it. But then, he may still insist upon the comparison of the wicked to *chaff*, which is *entirely burnt up*. It would perhaps be too great a nicety to observe, that neither wood nor chaff are so consumed in the fire as to be annihilated; nor are there any instances or examples of annihilation in nature, which, by the by, should make a philosopher less fond of it than Mr. Whiston seems to be, whose horrid doctrine [d] would annihilate, not only the wicked, but God's whole creation. However, whatever becomes of the wood and the chaff, comparisons and allusions of this kind are not to be interpreted with rigour, nor extended further than they were designed to hold. Upon the principles of all true philosophy, the souls of men are (under God) naturally immortal. They are not therefore, as Mr. Whiston supposes, "preserved on "purpose that they may be subject to never-ending "pains;" but their very nature, different from that of wood or chaff, subjects them to the pains, which

[d] See pp. 23, 64, 75, 89, 134.

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their wickedness deserved, for ever. It is true, indeed, Mr. W. has quite another notion of the immortality of the soul, which, according to him, signifies no more than its surviving the body at death [e]. But this point must not be debated with him here, and may be safely trusted to the proof, which has been given of it in the unanswerable writings of Dr. Clarke, Mr. Norris, &c. and, since them, by the excellent author of the Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul.

To return to my texts above: what I directly infer from them is only this, and it appears to me too plain to be denied, that there will be some time, when Christ has *throughly purged his floor*, a total and final separation made between the good and the evil. What will become of this rejected part of mankind, after this separation, we need not determine yet. As we travel on, our light perhaps will grow clearer. See Dr. Clarke's Sermon on this text, vol. viii. p. 111.

Num. III.

Matt. v. 22. *Whosoever shall say*, (to his brother,) *Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.*

This text, as Mr. Whiston observes, no way concerns the duration of hell torments; but is set down by him, in order to acquaint us with a distinction in ancient language between hades and gehenna [f]. We thank him for his information; but had heard of some such thing before: nor is any one now so ignorant as to believe, that by the article of Christ's descent into hell, or hades, is meant his descending into hell fire itself. I am sure the best expositors of the Creed teach us quite other doctrine. But

[e] P. 72. [f] P. 34.

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then Mr. Whiston would make a sort of purgatory of this hades: "Accordingly," says he, "I have all along "added a few passages relating to the castigatory and "temporary punishments of hades [g]." And so indeed he has; to obviate which, I refer, at present, (for this point will be more largely considered hereafter,) to bishop Bull's Discourse concerning the middle state of happiness or misery, between death and the resurrection [h]. "Now, I do affirm," says that learned writer, "the consentient and constant doctrine of "the primitive church to be this, that the souls of "all the faithful, immediately after death, enter into "a place and state of bliss, far exceeding all the feli- "cities of this world, though short of that most con- "summate perfect beatitude of the kingdom of hea- "ven, with which they are to be crowned and re- "warded in the resurrection; and so, on the con- "trary, that the souls of all the wicked are, pre- "sently after death, in a state of very great misery, "and yet dreading a far greater misery at the day "of judgment." Mr. Whiston, not content with these two sorts of men, has three or four sorts, whom he disposes of accordingly. There are, on the one hand, the few elect, or chosen of God, p. 114. the same, I suppose, with the more perfectly and completely good, p. 112. On the other hand are the hardened and incorrigibly wicked. These are not at all admitted to repentance and pardon in hades, and therefore are not exercised with any of those castigatory punishments, which would avail nothing in their remediless condition. With regard to the first sort of men, these punishments are not

[g] P. 35. [h] Vol. i. Serm. III. English Works.

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needful; and on the latter they would do no good. But then between these are the smaller offenders, and the imperfectly good Christians[l]; and these, believe me, are to smart for it. For the fire, or flame of gehenna, extends into such parts of hades as wicked men, who are not incurably so, are forced into, long before the day of judgment[k]. And this preliminary eruption of that fire or flame is only intended as a punishment necessary for the repentance and recovery of lesser offenders, that they may never be actually cast into gehenna. Upon this account it is said in the text, that the man who calls his brother *fool*, shall (not now be cast into gehenna, but only shall) be liable to some part of its torments. This, as I apprehend, is Mr. Whiston's scheme; and either he or his authors, Esdras, Hermas, &c. may have the honour of inventing it; for I cannot find it in the genuine scriptures.

The scripture supposes but two sorts of men, viz. those who die with faith and repentance, and those who do not. The former, according to the terms of the gospel, are entitled to the pardon of God: and there is no intimation that God designs to punish his creatures after he has pardoned them. His pardon is *free* pardon. They are not to satisfy for their own sins; they are not to merit their own salvation. All this is done to their hands. And if they die with repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, they are as certainly saved as the gospel is true. What improvements they may be capable of in hades, or this intermediate state; and to what degrees of perfection they may there arrive, above what they could attain in

[l] P. 112. [k] P. 115.

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this world; is a point I shall not determine. But, according to the mercies and the covenant of God in Christ Jesus, all punishments I disclaim[l]. Then, as to the other sort of men, who die without faith and repentance, those I reckon to be the same with Mr. Whiston's "hardened and incorrigibly wicked "Christians, who are not at all admitted to repent-"ance and pardon in hades:" which *I* take to be a concession so far in my favour, as it supposes, that there may be some men "incurably and incorrigibly "wicked[m]."

What Mr. W. says, that this imputation (viz. *Thou fool*) must be said in opposition to known truth; or must be an unjust imputation; and, in the second place, it must not have been repented of[n]; will be admitted, I suppose, without the authority of the apostolical canons. *Utitur, in re non dubia, testibus non necessariis.*

Num. IV.

Matt. v. 25, 26. *Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee*

[l] *If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* 1 John i. 9. *And the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.* Ver. 7. Not the fire either of purgatory or hell. Certe remissio peccatorum non definitur tormentis flammarum et suppliciorum satisfactionibus. Neque enim sensus est, quando scriptura dicit, Christum meruisse nobis remissionem peccatorum, quod promeruit nobis tormenta flammarum, et acerbissima supplicia, quibus nobis ipsis pro peccatis satisfaciendum sit; sed ex misericordia Dei propter satisfactionem Christi, scriptura tradit peccata remitti, hoc est, gratuito condonari et tegi, ne imputentur et exquirantur. *Chemnitii Examen Conc. Trid.* pars iii. p. 120.

[m] P. 112. [n] P. 115.

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to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

Upon these words Mr. W. thus comments[o]: "If "by the adversary here be meant the Devil, and the "text relates to the prison of gehenna, or hell, and "not to that of hades, as it is commonly understood; "this assertion of our Saviour's most naturally im- "plies, that at length, though not soon, the wicked "are to be delivered out of that prison; and is "clearly against the proper eternity of hell tor- "ments."

This assertion of our Saviour's cannot imply all this, unless also it be supposed, that the wicked in hell are capable of making this complete payment; that is, I presume, of repenting, and making their peace with God; a point by no means clear, either from this or any other text of scripture. Nay, Mr. W. himself assures us, upon his own authorities, that in gehenna, or hell, there is no repentance. "This," he says, "is perfectly agreeable to the testimonies "sacred and primitive; which all agree, that what "repentance or pardon soever there may be in "hades, the state of preparation, there is no hopes "of either in gehenna or hell itself[p]." If in other places of his book he expresses some hopes, and drops some hints, not very consistent with this declaration, I cannot help it. I am willing that he should not contradict himself at least; and perhaps what follows may clear up all: "There can be no "obstacle to my belief of Origen's doctrine, (that of "the restoration,) but the supposal of an utter moral "incapacity in the constitutions of these worst of

[o] P. 35. [p] P. 73.

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"free agents ever repenting and amending; with-
"out which repentance and amendment, as such
"creatures cannot, so it is no way desirable that
"they should, ever be made happy, either in this or
"another world [q]." Here then the point must rest at present, for these words of our Saviour do not determine it, being only an allusion to forensic causes, whereby, when a person is once cast into prison, he is not (in the usual course of things) discharged thence till he has *paid the uttermost farthing* of his debt [r]. The particle *till* (or ἕως ἂν) does not imply that he ever will do so; being frequently used in scripture of events that never come to pass at all.

Num. V.

Matt. v. 29, 30. *It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.*

If our Saviour had thought of the doctrine of annihilation, he might possibly have said, *It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish,* (viz. here upon earth,) *and not that thy whole body should* perish in gehenna. The word ἀπόληται, here repeated, and used in opposition to the perish-

[q] P. 131.

[r] Literalis enim sensus loquitur de judiciis forensibus in hac vita. Allegoria vero, juxta Christi et veterum etiam interpretationem, ad fraternam reconciliationem, dum in hac vita sumus, hortatur, similitudine petita a civilibus judiciis, ostendens, sine spe salutis in æternum damnandos illos, qui vel reconciliationem petere nolunt, vel offensam remittere negant, sed in inimicitiis moriuntur. *Chemnitii Examen Conc. Trident.* pars iii. p. 120; where this text is fully vindicated from favouring the popish doctrine of purgatory, as also Mr. W.'s.

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ing of one member, would have been stronger than in other places, where there is no such opposition.

Num. VI.

Matt. vii. 14. *Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.*

These words have no other relation to the subject we are upon, than as they suggest an argument, of which the writers on the other side of the question never fail to make their advantage. They are all willing to suppose, when it will serve their turn, that "[s] much the greatest part of mankind will in- "evitably be damned." This gives an alarm to the imagination and the passions, which immediately, without entering into the merits of the cause, prejudice us against the doctrine. The supposition probably may be founded in no good reason; but as it would lead us here into too large a digression, we must postpone the consideration of it, till we come to the chapter of objections. In the mean time we may observe, that Mr. W. himself, in another part of his work, gives such an interpretation of the text before us, that no such doctrine can be drawn from it; and concludes with saying, "There is great rea- "son to hope, that, on the contrary, after all the "gracious methods of Providence have been tried, "both in this world and in hades, the far greater

[s] P. 18. So Dr. Burnet too has his *maximam partem gentis humanæ damnatum iri ad pœnas æternas;* though he owns in the very next sentence that he knows nothing of the matter, and that the *numerus miserorum plane incompertus sit.* De Statu Mort. p. 290.

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"part will at length be brought to some degree of "salvation[t]." See Num. XX.

Num. VII.

Matt. vii. 19. *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

See above, Num. I. No further methods of cultivation will be used towards a *corrupt tree,* naturally incapable of bringing forth *good fruit; it is hewn down, and cast into the fire.* And no other probation will be afforded to creatures, under a moral incapacity of becoming better; as our Saviour's reasoning in the context seems to suppose they may be.

Num. VIII.

Matt. vii. 23. *And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*

Here is plainly the doctrine of separation from Christ, or exclusion from the kingdom of heaven, without any intimation that it will not be final. The justice of the sentence rests upon the wickedness of the persons: and if these workers of iniquity would not continue to work iniquity still, one would think they should rather be placed somewhere under the gracious influences of Christ, than thus judicially and totally separated from him.

Num. IX.

Matt. viii. 12. *But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

The words, with the verse before, shew the impartial justice of God; that he will not damn or save

[t] Pp. 115, 116, 117, &c.

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his creatures upon the account of any privileges they have enjoyed, or not enjoyed, in this world; or out of any partial fondness for his own *peculium:* for *they shall come from the east and west, and sit down with* the faithful patriarchs *in the kingdom of heaven; while the children of the kingdom* (for their disobedience) *shall be cast out into outer darkness.* "This *outer darkness* (Mr. Whiston thinks[u]) "seems only to agree to the state of bad men in "hades, before the day of judgment; which is still "described as a place of darkness, Wisd. xvii. 14, "17, 21. 2 Pet. ii. 4, 17. Jude, ver. 6, 13. Josephus "of Hades, §. 1. but not to hell fire; we having no "notion of fire and flame without light, though it "be never so dismal. Accordingly, when our Sa- "viour uses the like expressions elsewhere, *there "shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth,* concern- "ing those that are cast into gehenna or hell fire "itself, at the day of judgment, Matt. xiii. 42, 50. "xxiv. 51. Luke xiii. 28. he always omits there the "mention of that darkness; which is not a little re- "markable."

I think there is little remarkable in all this, be-

[u] P. 36. Mr. Whiston has long been of opinion, and is still, (see p. 110.) that hell will be in the atmosphere of a comet. Now surely there is some darkness in the atmospheres of comets, since he himself tells us, that they best answer the chaotic or primary state of planets, of all other bodies in the universe. See his Astronomical Principles, p. 90. And accordingly, having observed that hell is described in scripture as a state of *darkness*, of *outward darkness*, of *blackness of darkness*, of *torment* and *punishmen ftor ages, or ages of ages*, &c. he adds, "This description, in every cir- "cumstance, exactly agrees with the nature of a comet, ascend- "ing from the hot regions near the sun, and going into the cold "regions beyond Saturn," &c. *Astron. Prin.* p. 156.

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sides Mr. W.'s inattention. Good men shall come from all quarters of the world, and shall sit down (as it were at table) with the ancient and holy patriarchs in the kingdom of heaven, partaking of all the light and festivity of that glorious kingdom; while the wicked shall not be admitted into this luminous place and happy society, but shall be cast out into the exterior, or outer darkness. There is no occasion that this darkness should be total. It is darkness, and dismal darkness too, in comparison of the light which they enjoy who sit down in the kingdom of heaven. What if our Saviour sometimes omits the mention of this *outer darkness?* he does not omit it at other times, where it comes in with the greatest propriety, in opposition to the light which they have who are within, and partake of the feast. Thus, Matt. xxii. 13. the man who had not on a *wedding garment*, is ordered to be bound *hand and foot*, and to be *cast into* the *outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* And what *time* is it when *the king* comes *in to see the guests*, but the same when he *cometh, and reckoneth* with his servants, in the parable of the talents, Matt. xxv. 19. that is, at the day of judgment? It may be questioned too whether Mr. Whiston's own references above be all to his purpose; but the thing is not worth disputing. Be it that hades is described as a place of darkness, surely gehenna, or tartarus, is so too, according to all notions both ancient and modern[x]. And as to our

[x] Vid. Windet. de Vita Functorum Statu, sect. ix. Ut autem cœlo omnia bona, ita Tartaro contraria mala tribuere solent. Cœlo lucem,——Tartaro tenebras, &c. p. 224.

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having no notion of fire and flame without light, we need only recollect, that fire and flame are by no means incompatible with very great darkness: ***And the mountain burnt with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness.*** Deut. iv. 11.

Num. X.

Matt. x. 28. *But rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* See Num. LXIX.

Upon which text thus Mr. Whiston[y]: "These "words of our Saviour do much more favour the "destruction of the wicked in hell, than the preser- "vation of them to endure the torments of an end- "less eternity. Nay, they further imply, that not "the body only, but the soul itself, is capable of this "destruction there also. Although it ought to be "noted, that our Saviour does not in this place af- "firm that both soul and body shall actually be de- "stroyed in gehenna[z]; but only that it is in the "power of God to destroy them there. Whence "we may note further, that as worms and fire, "which we shall see are to be the agents in this "destruction, are only of themselves capable of de- "stroying the body; and as no other text, I think, "speaks directly of the destruction of the soul; so "is there room for hope, that the soul may not be "then utterly destroyed, but may remain capable of

[y] P. 36.

[z] It is unquestionable, that it is in the power of God to annihilate both soul and body either in gehenna or out of it; but it is far from being unquestionable that our Saviour affirms this here; since the original word ἀπολέσαι, as well as our English word *destroy*, may mean quite another thing.

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"a second resurrection, after the second death is "over; as seems to have been intimated by the pro- "phet Esdras, p. 29. *prius.*"

Here we may observe, that Mr. W. gives up, in effect, the system which he seems most inclined to favour through his whole book, viz. that of annihilation, or utter destruction of the wicked; since he owns that our Saviour does not in this place affirm that both soul and body shall be destroyed, but only that it is in the power of God to destroy them: which no one denies. But then we are not to recur to the power of God in such questions as these, but rather to the nature of things, and the declarations of the will of God. And as, from the nature of the soul, we have no reason to think that it will be utterly destroyed; so, with regard to the declarations of God's will, Mr. W. himself again will tell us, that no other text speaks directly of the destruction of the soul: that is, in short, neither this nor any other text in the Bible teaches us this doctrine. And why then, when our Saviour is directing the attention of Christians to the awful sanctions of another world, will Mr. W. distract or divert this attention, by suggesting something which is not directly taught in any one text of scripture? However, he says, "these words do much more favour "the destruction of the wicked in hell, than the "preservation of them to endure the torments of an "endless eternity." If by preservation he means that they are supernaturally or preternaturally preserved, above and beyond what the condition and powers of their nature would otherwise extend to, only on purpose that they may endure these endless torments; we say no such thing. This is a misre-

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presentation of the doctrine, in order to make it appear unjust and cruel. But then, as we, on our principles, want no extraordinary interposition of power or providence to preserve them in their existence; so, on the other hand, it would be unphilosophical in our adversaries to have recourse to such extraordinary interposition, without reason and without proof, in order to annihilate or destroy them. They must stand by the consequences of that nature which God has given them. How then, after all, do our Saviour's words, in the passage before us, "favour the destruction of the wicked in hell?" Is it because the word ἀπολέσαι is used? That cannot be: a word used a thousand times, where nothing of this sense is intended[a]. To go no further than the 39th verse of this chapter; there our Saviour says, Ὁ ἀπόλεσας τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ (which literally rendered is, *He that destroyeth his soul*) *for my sake shall find it:* where, for certain, our Saviour cannot mean such destruction as implies ceasing to exist. I will not multiply instances in so plain a case; but this I assert, that, so far as the import merely of this word is concerned, it is of too uncertain and ambiguous signification to build any doctrine of this consequence upon. The body and soul are truly destroyed (in the common and vulgar sense of the word) in hell, when they are cast into hell, without any prospect of deliverance from it. Compare Dr. John Warren's Sermons, vol. ii. Ser. 11. p. 249, &c.

Num. XI.

Matt. xii. 31, 32. *Wherefore I say unto you, All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men: but*

[a] For the proof of this, see Num. LIX.

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the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men.

And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him: but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.

Here Mr. W. observes, "That some sins, not for-"given in this world or age, will be forgiven in the "world or age to come, seems very clear from this "text[b]." But why did he not observe too, that it is likewise clear from this text, (for the text plainly declares it,) that there is one sin which will never be forgiven? And what if it should not be any peculiar heinousness in the nature of this particular sin that renders it incapable of pardon, but rather that the persons guilty of it are thereby supposed to be totally hardened, and fixed in an incurably wicked temper? Then, one would think, it should follow, that every sin which concludes in final obduracy, and the same incurably wicked temper, should by parity of reason, and the same rule of justice, be liable to the same condemnation. In short, it is much clearer from this text that some sin shall never be forgiven, than that some sins, not forgiven in this world, will be forgiven in the world to come. The former is the express declaration of the text; the latter is only an inference drawn from an ambiguous expression, which may imply no such thing. This world or age, and the world or age to come, as the parts of a whole, may be put to signify that whole itself; and then the meaning will be, that the person guilty of this sin will never be forgiven. Such a manner of speaking is familiar enough in scrip-

[b] P. 37.

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ture; and that it is no more than such a mode of speech in this place, I am the rather inclined to believe, because St. Mark and St. Luke express the same thing without any such distinction: *He hath never forgiveness*, says the former, Mark iii. 29; *It shall not be forgiven*, says the latter, Luke xii. 10.[c]

Num. XII.

Matt. xiii. 30, 40, 41, 42. *Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn.* See Numb. II.

40. *As therefore the tares are gathered and burned in the fire; so shall it be in the end of this world.*

41. *The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;*

42. *And shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.*

This parable of the tares contains some noble instructions on subjects of a very high importance,

[c] See a larger account of this text in archbishop Wake's Discourse of Purgatory, printed in the late Preservative against Popery, in folio, vol. ii. tit. viii. p. 119; and in Chemnitius, ubi sup. Præterea tempus futuri seculi, de tempore post resurrectionem mortuorum in scriptura accipitur. Adventus enim Christi ad judicium, faciet finem huic seculo, Matt. xiii. 24. Et quando qui bona egerunt, ibunt post resurrectionem in vitam æternam, Johan. vi. illud tempus vocatur futurum seculum, Marc. x. et Luc. xx. tempus resurrectionis expresse vocatur tempus futuri seculi. Quando igitur Matthæus nominat futurum seculum, intelligit extremum judicium post resurrectionem mortuorum. Male ergo de intermedio tempore inter mortem et resurrectionem exponitur. So that here is nothing said in this text of forgiveness in this intermediate state; which however is the season of purgatory with the papists, and of castigatory punishments in hades with Mr. W.

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which have always perplexed the inquiries of mankind: such as the origin of evil, the conduct and designs of Providence in permitting it, the true notion of human life as a state of trial; where there must be some mixture of evil as an exercise of virtue, and for the proof and manifestation of fidelity and obedience[d]. But this plan of Providence will one day be finished; and, when it is so, we are here assured an entire separation will be made between the two sorts of men, (for only two sorts are supposed,) the good and the evil. The former shall go to receive their reward, *Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father;* the latter to their place of punishment; they shall be cast *into a furnace of fire.* That this will utterly destroy them, is not said; nor, if contrary to reason and scripture, in other places to be supposed. Here is mention of *wailing and gnashing of teeth,* which so far must imply continuance in being; but no hint of annihilation. As little (or, if possible, less) ground is there to expect, from this parable, or the explanation of it, any future state of trial for these wicked, or any restoration of them to happiness and the favour of God. We are rather here plainly taught, on the contrary, that as the present world is a state of probation, so this probation will be de-

[d] Magnæ hoc disputationis est; cur a Deo, cum justitiam terræ daret, sit retenta diversitas:—Nunc designare id brevissime satis est: virtutem aut cerni non posse, nisi habeat vitia contraria; aut non esse perfectam, nisi exerceatur adversis. Hanc enim Deus bonorum ac malorum voluit esse distantiam, ut qualitatem boni ex malo sciamus, item mali ex bono; nec alterius ratio intelligi, sublato altero, potest. Deus ergo non exclusit malum, ut ratio virtutis constare posset. *Lactant.* lib. v. cap. 7. Confer lib. vi. c. 15.

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cisive and final. Therefore, as our Saviour concludes, *who hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

Num. XIII.

Matt. xiii. 49, 50. *So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.*

This parable of the *net cast into the sea, which gathered of every kind,* represents to us the nature of Christ's kingdom in this world; that it consists of good and bad: but assures us, at the same time, that it shall not be always so. As the fishermen gathered the good fish into vessels, but *cast the bad away;* (τὰ δὲ σαπρὰ ἔξω ἔβαλον, not put them into the sea again to improve against some other time, but cast them quite away, as corrupt, and good for nothing;) so, at the end of the world, will the angels sever the wicked from among the just, and cast them (not into another state of probation) into their place of punishment; *there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.* Compare Num. XII.

Num. XIV.

Matt. xviii. 8, 9. *—it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.*

9. *—it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.*

Here Mr. Whiston says, "These two expressions "are for certain directly parallel, and neither of "them at all imply the proper eternity of hell tor-"ments[c]."

We have heard this fire called *unquenchable* before, see Num. II.; but as this is the first place where

[c] P. 38.

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we meet with *everlasting fire*, (τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, *the fire which is everlasting*,) we must consider here what has been suggested in diminution of the meaning of that phrase. Mr. W. here and every where renders it *lasting fire*: so ζωὴ αἰώνιος, with him, is only *lasting life*; for, according to his scheme, neither the blessed nor the wicked are to exist really for ever, in the sense of a proper eternity. One argument therefore commonly insisted on by divines for the proper eternity of these torments, is, as to Mr. W. himself at least, precluded; I mean that taken from the same words being used to express the eternity of hell torments, which are used in scripture to express the eternity of the joys of heaven. However, this consideration ought still to have its proper weight with all those who do not adopt this part of Mr. Whiston's scheme. If the words in dispute express a proper eternity in one case, it will be hard to say, so far as the mere force and signification of these words is concerned, why they should not express a proper eternity in the other case. If I hear the joys of heaven and the torments of hell both called *everlasting*, (and it is the same in the Greek or any other language,) though I may from other topics imagine there will be a difference in their duration, yet so far as I attend merely to this term, I can have no reason for such an imagination. For the term is the same, and, while I attend to it alone, I must think the meaning is the same likewise. But let us return to Mr. W. who seems to say, that the Hebrew and Greek words, translated *everlasting*, signify in scripture no such thing. Take here his own words:

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" [f] The original words *olam* in Hebrew, and αἰὼν " in Greek, with their plurals and derivatives; which " are the almost only ones made use of by the sacred " writers to determine the duration of the punish- " ment of the wicked in the other world, and are " rendered *eternal* or *everlasting*, and supposed to " mean a duration properly endless or co-eternal " with God himself; do by no means so signify in " scripture: nor are they ever, when spoken of cre- " ated beings, to be extended longer than the seve- " ral grand ages or periods of this sublunary world; " beginning with the Mosaic creation; hardly yet " 6000 years ago; and ending after the glorious " millennium, at the general judgment, and consum-

[f] P. 20. See Mr. W.'s Discourse of the Restoration of the Jews, published in his Sermons and Essays, 1709. He there says, p. 226. that the genuine import of this phrase *for ever*, in the sacred dialect, is the entire duration of any long and famous period, about which the discourse is; or during the entire continuance of the existence of any thing which is spoken of, from its primary beginning till its final end. In this sense he takes the laws of Moses to be *for ever*, as they were to continue, not only during the first or second temple, but all that αἰὼν, or those αἰῶνες, which that preparatory dispensation was to be commensurate to; till it was to be swallowed up in a new and more noble αἰὼν, the glorious age and kingdom of the great Messias himself, in the end of the world. This law of Moses, he says, has never been properly and formally abolished; and is to be restored towards the end of the world: and this seems to be that which is so often hinted at in the Pentateuch, where the statutes and ordinances are so often said to be *for ever*, &c. N. B. This is a very different account of the duration of an αἰὼν from what he gives now, viz. 68, or 4 or 500 years. Q. Whether he does not take away the use of words, and make them signify at random what he pleases?

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" mation of all things. Nay, these words are very " frequently of a great deal narrower extension, and " reach only to much shorter periods included there- " in."

We readily grant, that these words in the Old Testament, and especially as applied to the ordinances of the law of Moses, have this narrow extension which he speaks of. Yet the words are capable of signifying a proper eternity, and where the subject will bear it, really do so. Even αἰὼν, which, according to this gentleman [g], signifies a shorter duration than its plural, or the reduplication of it, seems to me to signify a proper eternity, in the 136th Psalm, and other places. Will any one limit the mercy of God, and say it endures for an age only? yet what is it else that Mr. W. says p. 8. where he bids us note, "that as the punishments of the " wicked are said to be εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, or αἰώνια *for an* " *age*, or *for ever*; so is the mercy of God to his " creatures celebrated as of the very same duration " also." If the mercy of God, and the punishments of the wicked, be of the very same duration, and that duration be really for ever; Mr. W. has here given up the point. But if he means that both of them are only for an age, he makes this Psalm such a celebration of the mercy of God, as I believe never entered into the heart or head of any sober man: *O give thanks unto the Lord, for his mercy endureth* for an age; that is, according to Mr. W.'s shortest calculation [h], 68 years, and according to his largest, 575. I am very certain the mercy of God will endure for ever, upon the proper objects of it; and for the rest—they are no objects of it at all. But to

[g] P. 39. [h] Ibid.

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proceed: whatever the words in dispute may sometimes signify in the Old Testament, it will be harder to prove that they are used with so much latitude in the New[1]. When applied to God, they confessedly denote a proper eternity; when applied to the happiness of the saints in heaven, they have hitherto universally been thought to denote the same: Mr. W. indeed at last is pleased to deny it; (whether in so doing he has not *made God a liar*, according to St. John's doctrine, 1 John v. 10, 11. I leave him to consider;) what reason then is there why they should not denote the same, when applied to the punishments of the wicked? I mean so far as the import of these words merely is concerned, for of that only we are now speaking. Is there any intimation given, that they are here to be taken in a different or less extensive sense? nothing of that kind appears. It rather appears, comparing them with other expressions, and other declarations of our Lord in the gospel, that they are to be understood in the fullest sense of which they are capable. What could the common people think, when they heard our Saviour not only call this fire *αἰώνιον*, but declare plainly, and with most emphatic repetition, that it *never shall be quenched?* See Mark ix. 43, &c. where it is so declared five times over, in the compass of five or six verses. Did our Lord deceive the people? would he be guilty of any of those pious frauds, against which

[1] —— Haud æqua mihi videtur lex interpretandi, ut quæ nonnunquam a prophetis figurate usurpantur, ea semper et ubique in eodem sensu sint intelligenda. Stylus evangelii est castigatior, nec tam facile dissilit a sensu literali: a quo nunquam recedendum est ab interprete, nisi cum coëgerit materiæ subjectæ necessitas. *Burnet, De Stat. Mort.* p. 110.

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Mr. W. is so warm [k]? A word from him, on the other side, would have cleared up this point. But, as the case now stands, he has not cured, but confirmed the prejudices of the people; as if he had approved the maxim, afterwards used by one of his pretended vicars, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.* But I have not yet done with Mr. Whiston's criticisms upon this article; he tells us, the words under consideration, "when spoken of created beings, are never "to be extended longer than the several grand ages "or periods of this sublunary world; beginning with "the Mosaic creation, and ending after the millen- "nium, at the general judgment and consummation "of all things." Now,

To what age or period of this sublunary world can the word αἰώνιον be designed to extend in the 25th of St. Matthew, ver. 46? these ages or periods seem here to be accomplished. The great Judge has passed the decisive sentence, has made the final separation; and the consequence is, the wicked go into *everlasting punishment,* (εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον,) and *the righteous into life eternal,* (εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.) By

[k] P. 139. It should here be remembered, that it was the common belief of the Jews, in our Saviour's time, that the punishments of the wicked will be eternal. This, I think, may be fairly collected from what Josephus says of the Pharisees, who were the popular instructors, the public leaders in religion. "They hold," says he, "the soul to be immortal; that only those of the good "pass into another body, but those of the wicked are to be pu- "nished with everlasting punishment, (ἀϊδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ)." *De Bell. Jud.* lib. 2. ed. Hudson. p. 1065. Compare Antiq. lib. 18. p. 793. As this then was the opinion of the popular and prevailing sect among the Jews, and consequently of the people, there was more occasion for our Saviour to confute it, had it been false, than confirm it, as he has done here, and in numerous passages of his gospel.

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what ages or periods of this sublunary world can the extent of the word αἰώνιον here be limited, when this sublunary world is at an end? In short, so far is it from being true that the sense of the word is to be confined by any ages or periods of this world, that it is most frequently, in the New Testament, applied to things which do not properly commence, till the ages and periods of this world are finished; viz. the rewards and punishments of the world to come. Then the mystery (or the mysterious dispensation) of God, by Jesus Christ, shall be finished; and time[1] with its

[1] See Rev. x. 6, 7. I only make use of these words, without pretending to say that this is the precise meaning of them. But the thing intended is plain; when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom (the kingdom which he now administers, or *quoad præsentem formam administrationis*) to God, even the Father, *then cometh the end;* beyond which we know from the gospel of no ages or periods, but an eternal, immutable state. Quæ Ratio universitatem ex diversitate composuit,—eadem ævum quoque ita destinata ac distincta conditione conseruit, ut prima hæc pars ab exordio rerum quam incolimus, temporali ætate ad finem defluat: sequens vero, quam expectamus, in infinitam æternitatem propagetur. Cum ergo finis et limes medius, qui interhiat, adfuerit, ut etiam mundi ipsius species transferatur, æque temporalis, quæ illi dispositioni æternitatis aulæi vice oppansa est, tunc restituetur omne humanum genus, ad expungendum quod in isto ævo boni seu mali meruit, et exin dependendum in immensam æternitatis perpetuitatem. Ideoque nec mors jam, nec rursus ac rursus resurrectio, sed erimus iidem qui nunc, nec alii post; Dei quidem cultores apud Deum semper, superinduti substantia propria æternitatis; profani vero, et qui non integre ad Deum, in pœnam æque jugis ignis, habentes ex ipsa natura ejus, divina scilicet, subministrationem incorruptibilitatis. Noverunt et philosophi diversitatem arcani et publici ignis. *Tertullian. Apolog.* cap. xlviii. Tertullian speaks of hell fire in the same manner as Lactantius and Minutius Felix do; see p. 92. and 94. of Mr. Whiston's book. It is plain they all took it to be something quite different from our common culinary fire. But because Tertullian considers lightning,

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ages and periods, shall *be no longer*. Yet still God (God himself at least, Mr. W. will allow) will live εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, strictly and properly, *for ever and ever*. And we have repeated assurances, in the very same words, that some of his creatures shall do so too: and therefore it seems to be a very fanciful and arbitrary interpretation, to limit these words (which in themselves, we see, are capable of denoting a proper eternity) to ages and periods, which will then be over. And indeed all the dust that Mr. W. has raised, p. 22, about God's making, or framing τοὺς αἰῶνας, *the ages*, &c. may be cleared, only by recollecting that that word sometimes denotes *the world*, sometimes *the ages* or periods of the world, or any lesser periods included therein, and sometimes duration itself, in the abstract, before, or after, all worlds whatever. See Num. XXII.

As this is the first time we meet with the expression of *everlasting fire*, I have been the longer upon it; because Mr. W. has made a stir about it, and something depends upon it, though much less, perhaps, than is commonly imagined. It will appear, in the progress of this undertaking, that, for my

and the fire in burning mountains, which does not consume them, as examples (*exemplaria*) of the perpetuity of hell-fire, see what a strange remark Mr. W. has made p. 85. viz. that this hell-fire is to arise from our present earth, and to burn up the wicked while it is such an earth, and no longer. Confer de Pœnitentia, cap. ult. And how weak is what he suggests about the difference of Tertullian's sentiments, as to this article, before and after he was a Montanist; since it is plain, in the two passages referred to above, which according to Mr. W. were wrote in these different periods, he asserts the same doctrine of the never-ending perpetuity of hell-fire. However, that he was not a Montanist when he wrote his Apologetic, see Mr. Welchman's preface to his edition of his book Adversus Praxean. p. xi.

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part, I build not my doctrine merely upon the foundation of any verbal criticisms whatever. But when our Lord's plain representations of human life and the nature and design of his kingdom, and his plain declarations of the final orders and dispositions which he, the Judge himself, will make, at the consummation of all things; (which are, with me, the great and primary arguments on this subject;) when these considerations have directed our thoughts to a conclusion agreeable to the whole dispensation of God, both in nature and the gospel, then we may attend to words, and draw such arguments from them, though but of an inferior and secondary nature, as it will be no easy matter to set aside.

Num. XV.

Matt. xviii. 34, 35. *And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.*

From these texts Mr. W. thus argues: "[m] This "text, joined to the former, chap. v. 26, already set "down, are clear, that the debt of punishment, which "will be exacted of the wicked in another world, "will be only proportionable to strict right and jus- "tice, but no more; which I take to be an absolute "demonstration against the proper eternity of that "punishment; nay indeed, most naturally to imply, "that where this debt is vastly great, both the de- "gree and duration of the torments will be vastly "great also; but still in exact proportion with such "debt, and not otherwise."

Every one knows from his natural idea of God,

[m] P. 38.

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even without this or any other text of scripture, that the wicked will be punished in another world only proportionably to right and justice. But when Mr. W. takes it for granted, that this is a demonstration, an absolute demonstration, against the eternity of their punishments, he must bear to be reminded, that this is taking for granted the great point to be proved. *How* is it contrary to right and justice, that wicked spirits and wicked men (one as well as the other) should be excluded out of Christ's kingdom in heaven, the kingdom only of the just? Especially when the consequences of this exclusion will be in exact proportion to the guilt and demerit of each sufferer's sin, and the malignity of his temper. So that though there be no difference in the duration of their punishments, the various, perhaps to us inconceivable, degrees of them, will make a great one. This, as far as I can see, must be the case; unless they either cease to exist, of which this text gives no intimation, or else be delivered out of this prison, as Mr. W. intimates, in his comment on Matt. v. 26. they will be, when they have paid the debt. But how can they pay all that is due, whose original stock and principal, which they might have improved in this life, but did not, is taken from them, according to our Lord's application of the parable of the talents? *From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath,* Matt. xxv. 29. And Mr. W. himself sometimes appears to be of this opinion; since he tells us in one place, (p. 131.) that "without repentance and amendment, as such creatures cannot, so is it no way desirable that they should ever be made happy:" and in another assures us, that it "is perfectly agreeable to the testi-

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" monies sacred and primitive, that in gehenna, or " hell, there is no repentance," p. 72, 73. See above, Num. IV. and compare archbishop Dawes's fifth Sermon, p. 171, &c. printed at Cambridge, 1707.

Numb. XVI.

Matt. xxii. 13. *Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.* See above, under Num. IX.

It may be added here, upon the authority of an ancient commentator[n], that *binding him hand and foot* is depriving him of the practical powers of the soul; (which looks as if his moral agency was at an end, and that there was no other probation for him;) and thus it answers to the taking away the original talent from the slothful servant, Matt. xxv. 28, 29.

Num. XVII.

Matt. xxiii. 33. *Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?*

These words determine nothing concerning the duration of the punishments in hell; but intimate to us pretty strongly what sort of persons are liable to them. Our Lord no where in the gospel treats any one, how great a sinner soever, with so much severity, where he could discover any hopes of amendment.

[n] *Bind his hands and feet*, that is, the practical powers of his soul. For in the present life we may work and act, but in the future all the practical powers of the soul are bound; and it is not possible to do any good thing towards making amends, or as a compensation, for our sins. Theophyl. in loc. In the same manner he explains the command to *bind the tares in bundles*, Matt. xiii. 30. No one then any longer will have power to work, but every practical power will be bound.

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Num. XVIII.

Matt. xxiv. 40, 41. *Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left.*

That is, not arbitrarily, and without reason; but *the wicked are severed from among the just.* See Numbers XII. and XIII.

Numb. XIX.

Ver. 51. *And shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

I only observe, that this is agreeable to the rest of our Lord's representations of this matter. He is so far from giving any hint of any thing analogous to a state of probation, to be expected after the present, or of any likelihood of the repentance or recovery of the wicked, that he represents them, on the contrary, as utterly disabled; they are *bound hand and foot,* they are *cut asunder,* the talent originally intrusted to them is entirely *taken away from them,* and they are *cast into outer darkness;* expressions which, if they mean any thing, seem to insinuate, that they are laid under great disadvantages, (perhaps a total incapacity,) with regard to free agency, moral improvement, or any alteration whatever for the better, of their moral state and character. See Numbers XVI. XXI.

Num. XX.

Matt. xxv. 10, 11, 12. —*the bridegroom came; and they that were ready went in with him to the marriage: and the door was shut. Afterward came also the other vir-*

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gins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.

Nothing can be plainer than it is from these words, and the drift and design of the parable to which they belong, that when the righteous are entered into the kingdom of heaven, and the *door is shut*, all after-thought or application of the wicked for admission will be in vain[o]. This is no incidental part of the parable, but the direct instruction which it conveys; and on which the practical direction, ver. 13, is founded: *Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh.* What state awaits them, or what place is prepared for them, after this exclusion, we must learn as we can from other places; but from this it is plain enough, that it is not that state and place which they that are ready enter into, with the bridegroom, distinguished by the name of *the kingdom of heaven.*

Mr. W. makes an observation from this parable, of which, though not directly to the point in hand, it may not be improper to take some notice. "It is "not," he says[p], "to be quite overlooked, that our "Saviour himself, in the latter part of his ministry, "intimates to us, that the number of good men was "hardly then inferior to that of the bad; I mean in "the parable of the ten virgins: *five of which were* "*wise, and five were foolish.*" But the parable has no relation to the latter part of our Saviour's ministry, any further than it might be spoke at that time; but relates to the day of judgment: *Then*

[o] Vid. Theophyl. in loc. [p] P. 118.

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shall the kingdom of heaven be likened, &c. ver. 1. That is, at the day of judgment, as appears from the connexion with the last chapter[q], and from what follows in this. If therefore any conclusion can be drawn from hence, about the equal number of good men that will obtain salvation, Mr. W. has hurt his own argument. For it is a much more considerable point gained, to have an equal number of good men that will obtain salvation at the day of judgment, than (in Judæa suppose) in the latter part of Christ's ministry. Indeed, if we may argue in this manner, there is another parable which opens to us a still more comfortable scene than this; in the parable of the marriage of the king's son, when the king comes in *to see the guests,* he finds but one man among that great multitude, collected from hedges and highways, who *had not on a wedding garment.* Which intimates to us, according to Mr. W.'s way of reasoning in the other case, that the number of Christians who will obtain salvation will be in a vastly greater proportion than that of half. And God Almighty grant that they may!

[q] Vid. Hieron. in loc. Prudentem semper admoneo lectorem, ut non superstitiosis acquiescat interpretationibus, et quæ commatice pro fingentium dicuntur arbitrio: sed consideret priora, media, et sequentia; et nectat sibi universa, quæ scripta sunt. Ex hoc ergo quod infert; *Vigilate, quia nescitis diem neque horam,* intelliguntur universa, quæ dixit, id est, de duobus qui in agro sunt, et de duabus molentibus, et de patrefamilias qui servo suo credidit substantiam, et de decem Virginibus, ideo parabolas esse præmissas; ut quia ignoramus omnes *judicii diem,* solicite nobis lumen bonorum operum præparemus; ne dum ignoramus, Judex veniat.

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Num. XXI.

Matt. xxv. 28, 29, 30. *Take therefore the talent from him, and give it unto him which hath ten talents. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

This parable appears to me to teach us very plainly two things of great moment in this debate; and which are indeed the main hinges on which it turns: the one is, that the present life is a state of probation; the other, that this probation will be decisive and final. The first lies open to our experience, and wants no proof; but may be explained hereafter. The last is, in effect, what I am endeavouring to evince in the course of these pages. I have before observed, (see Num. IX.) that the time when *the Lord cometh, and reckoneth with his servants*, ver. 19, is the day of judgment. He then finds one, out of three, who, instead of trading with his talent, had hid it in the earth; that is, in the moral and application of the parable, had not made that use of this probationary state, and of the several powers, opportunities, and capacities (the sum of all which is represented by the talent) answerable and correspondent thereto, which he ought to have done. How now does his Lord decide in this affair? does he, on this fair occasion, give the most distant nint that he will bear any longer with him, that he will try him once more; or, because he has failed here, remove him to some more advantageous situation, where he may stand a better chance for improvement? Directly contrary; he takes the talent

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entirely from him; that is, the whole sum of his powers as a moral and free agent; and casts him into a place agreeable to this state of moral inactivity, without light or liberty, without motive, inducement, or example to grow better. Thus the case stands, as far as I can judge, upon the foot of this parable; especially in conjunction with other places and parables of the gospel. For this is the sole uniform view exhibited to us by Jesus Christ in all his representations of the nature and design of this world, and of human life, and of his kingdom, and of the transactions at the last day. And whoever directs the eyes of Christians to any false and flattering prospects, contrary to this, endeavours to fix them on a vision and spectre only of his own imagination, that has no support, that I know of, either in reason or the written word of God. Compare Numbers XII. XIII. XVI. XIX. XX.

Numb. XXII.

Matt. xxv. 31, 32, 33, 34, 41, 46. *When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal*[r].

In this clear, distinct, and full account of the pro-

[r] See Dr. John Warren's Sermon upon this text, vol. ii. p. 237.

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ceedings at the great day of judgment, we find not only the doctrine of the separation or exclusion of the wicked, which we have often met with before, but also their state and punishment subsequent to it. Their sentence, ver. 41, is to *depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels.* And lest any one should say that this fire, originally *prepared for the Devil and his angels,* may itself be everlasting, though wicked men do not everlastingly exist in it, it is expressly said, in the last verse, that they *shall go away into everlasting punishment.* There is nothing therefore left for the adversary to do, but to criticise and quibble away, if he can, the extent and meaning of the word *αἰώνιον*, or *everlasting*[s]. Now here let us recollect, that the

[s] —— "If God had intended to have told us that the punishment of wicked men shall have no end, the languages wherein the scriptures are written do hardly afford fuller and more certain words than those that are used in this case, whereby to express to us a duration without end: and likewise, which is almost a peremptory decision of the thing,—the duration of the punishment of wicked men is in the very same sentence expressed by the very same word which is used for the duration of the happiness of the righteous." *Archbp. Tillotson, Sermon on Hell Torments.*

That *αἰὼν* and *αἰώνιος* signify *eternity* and *eternal*, appears from the lexicographers: see Scapula and Leigh. *Αἰὼν*, say they, quasi *ἀεὶ ὤν*, Arist. lib. i. de Cœlo, et Phil. de Mundo.

Καὶ γὰρ οὐ χρόνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ παράδειγμα [αἰὼν, ὁ βίος αὐτῶν'] ἐν αἰῶνι δὲ, οὔτε παρελήλυθεν οὐδὲν, οὔτε μέλλει, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑφέστηκεν. Philo. ed. Mangey, vol. ii. p. 609.

Platonici duas durationis species esse dicebant, quarum altera vocatur *aiὼν*, *æternitas*, quæ *ἐν ἑνὶ μένει*, ut loquitur Plato in Timæo, hoc est, successione caret; altera proprie *χρόνος*, tempus, quod est alterius *εἰκὼν κινητὴ*, *imago mobilis*, quia cum successione elabitur. *J. Clerici Not. in Oracula Chaldaica, Opp. Phil.* tom. ii. p. 363.

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word is used in passing the most solemn sentence in the world; and afterwards, in a declaration of the consequence of that sentence: in both which, one would expect to meet with words in their plain and common sense, without ambiguity. It is also to be remembered, that the same word is used of the life or reward of the righteous, and of the punishment of the wicked. The generality of Christians, from our Saviour's time to this, have understood the word to denote *duration without end*, equally in both cases; so that the life of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, will be really for ever. On the other hand, some few, both in former and

Arrian. Epict. lib. ii. c. 5, οὐ γάρ εἰμι αἰὼν, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος.

Deus Platoni est intelligibilis et æterna substantia, unde in Timæo dicitur τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν, a quo τὸν αἰῶνα, *æternitatem*, deduci declarat Plotinus Enn. 3. lib. vii. capp. 1. 3.

Vid. Prolegom. ad Platon. Parmen. ed. Thomson, p. xxix.

The words therefore are certainly capable of denoting *eternity*, and frequently do so in the scriptures. What criterion then have we, whereby we may know when they denote eternity, and when a temporal duration only? None other that I know of, but what arises from the context, the nature of the thing, or subject spoken of. Here is nothing in the sense or context that limits the meaning of these words, as applied to the punishments of the wicked in hell, but much to the contrary. It is agreeable to all the other representations of scripture, relating to this article, to understand them in their most extensive sense. They are equally applied to the case of the righteous and the wicked; which, as Dr. Tillotson observes above, is almost decisive of the point to those who own the happy eternity of the former. Wicked men are of the same nature with the righteous, and immortal as well as they. There is nothing therefore in the nature of the beings spoken of, which excludes the sense of eternity; nor in the nature of the punishments, if they be justly deserved, what are best upon the whole, and consistent with every perfection of God, nay, the result of them; as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter.

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later ages, allowing the word to signify *eternity*, when applied to the rewards of the righteous, have denied it this extensive signification when used of the punishments of the wicked; which, according to them, will have an end. At last comes Mr. W. and, agreeably to his enterprising genius, advances a step beyond them all; assuring us, that the word does by "[t] no means denote a proper eternity of either "punishment or reward, but only a long duration of "them respectively." Here then in effect are three interpretations; and without going any further, I dare leave it to the judgment of any sober and intelligent person, which seems to come nearest to the literal sense of the passage, stands clearest of difficulties, or will best account for them, and is most agreeable to the general style and tenour of the New Testament. The second interpretation, or hypothesis, (call it what you will,) is perfectly arbitrary; there being no foundation in the words themselves, text or context, on which to build such a difference of signification. No manner of intimation is given that they are to be taken in a different sense; or that the same word has not the same meaning in both cases. Nor could any man ever be led to doubt of this by any thing that he finds here; but when, for other reasons, (of which in their proper place,) they took it into their heads to deny the eternity of these punishments, this expedient was called in to their assistance, in order to remove the weight of this and such other testimonies of scripture. Then, as to Mr. W.'s scheme, pursued through all its consequences, it leads one into such a train of thought as one cares not to describe. It is certain and un-

[t] P. 39.

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doubted matter of fact, that the Christian world, induced by our Saviour's promises, have all along hoped for everlasting life. Shall I be allowed to ask, Has this great *Teacher sent from God* imposed upon his followers? shall they who *have trusted in him* ever *be ashamed?* as they must be, when their hopes and expectations, raised and cherished by him, are thus defeated, and end (properly and philosophically end) in nothing[u]. Nay but, some one perhaps will say, they have deceived themselves; they have taken his words in a sense which he never intended. Now let any man read the New Testament, and judge for himself; taking at the same time this remark along with him, that according to the law of nature and nations, "all offers "of pardon are to be understood in the full extent of "the words, without any secret reserves or limita-"tions; unless they are plainly expressed[x]." Were there no words in the language which our Saviour spoke, none in the Greek in which the New Testament was written, that answer to our English words *long* and *lasting?* Why did not our Lord sometimes make use of these, on a subject which required him to speak with great exactness? Why did he always express himself in words of uncertain meaning: or rather, in words which are certainly known to denote, on other occasions, the most real and proper

[u] O ye blest scenes of permanent delight!
Full, above measure! lasting, beyond bound!
Could you, so rich in rapture, fear an end,
That ghastly thought would drink up all your joy,
And quite unparadise the realms of light.
The Complaint; or, Night Thoughts. Night the First.

[x] Bishop Burnet's Exposition, Art. 22.

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eternity; and this too without any caution against taking them in this extensive sense; without any intimation, that he desired to be understood *cum grano salis?* I know but one reason of this conduct, that any consistent Christian can give; and that I need not mention. Well then;

If the word αἰώνιον, in the text before us, denote the same duration, as applied both to the punishment of the wicked, and the life of the righteous; and if that duration cannot be only long or lasting duration, but duration properly everlasting; then I have gained my point, that, according to all appearances upon the face of this remarkable passage, the wicked will neither be utterly destroyed in hell, nor delivered out of it; but exist for ever, subject to, and sensible of that everlasting punishment, into which they are sentenced to depart at the day of judgment.

Though I have been, perhaps, too prolix already upon this article, and led into some repetition by repeated objections; (see Num. XIV.) yet I shall not only hope for pardon, but also for a little more indulgence, while I attend Mr. W. a moment or two longer.

The moderns, he complains[y], "have weakly understood a single αἰὼν, or *age*, to be of equal duration with αἰῶνες, or *even* αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων, with *ages*, or "*even ages of ages*, themselves:" whereas he would have αἰὼν, rendered *an age;* and αἰῶνες, *ages;* and αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων, *ages of ages;* "as they properly sig-

[y] P. 39. compared with p. 23. These phrases seem to me to be used promiscuously, as any equivalent phrases may be. Doxologies (which Mr. W. mentions p. 61.) generally run in a full and lofty style, as it is natural to expect they should do. But there is no invariable rule for them; as will appear by what follows:

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"nify," he says, "in scripture." This too would give English readers a juster notion of the proper dura-

Doxologies which ascribe life, glory, &c. to God,

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.	
Matt. vi. 13.	Gal. i. 5.	Rev. i. 6. and 18.
Rom. i. 25.	Phil. iv. 20.	—— iv. 9, 10.
—— ix. 5.	1 Tim. i. 17.	—— v. 13, 14.
—— xi. 36.	2 Tim. iv. 18.	—— vii. 12.
—— xvi. 27.	Heb. xiii. 21.	—— x. 6.
2 Cor. xi. 31.	1 Peter iv. 11.	—— xi. 15.
	—— v. 11.	—— xv. 7.

N. B. Some of these doxologies are to God, some to Christ, and some jointly to both. Besides these, there are others which differ in words from each of the forms above. Eph. iii. 21. *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων.* 1 Tim. vi. 16. *τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον.* 2 Peter iii. 18. *εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος.* Jude 25. *εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.* So again, with regard to the kingdom of God, and the kingdom of Christ, these phrases are used promiscuously; or rather, the stronger expressions denote what Mr. W. thinks will be of the shorter duration; as appears from the texts following:

Kingdom of God.	*Kingdom of Christ.*
Dan. iv. 3, 34.	Dan. ii. 44.
—— vii. 27.	—— vii. 14, 18.
—— vi. 26.	Luke i. 33.
Psalm xxix. 10.	Heb. i. 8.
Rev. iv. 9, 10.	Rev. i. 18.
—— v. 13, 14.	—— v. 13.
	—— xi. 15.
	—— xxii. 5.

N. B. As some of these appear to include the kingdom of God, and the kingdom of Christ too, so others plainly include the kingdom of Christ and his saints; and declare that this kingdom shall endure *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*; Dan. vii. 18. Rev. xxii. 5. The same phrase is applied by St. John to the duration of the punishments of the wicked; Rev. xiv. 11. xix. 3. xx. 10. The other New Testament writers generally, I think, use the word *αἰώνιος*, or *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*; which denotes the same duration that the other does in St. John, and the same, as far as appears, in both cases, as applied either to rewards or punishments.

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tion of such periods, than the common English versions convey to them. Let us give then a few specimens of translations in this way, in order to try how this rule will hold. Matt. xxi. 19. and Mark xi. 14. Christ says to the barren fig-tree, *Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward* εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *for an age.* John iv. 14. *Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall not thirst* εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, *for an age; but the water that I shall give shall be in him a well of water springing up into life* for an age, or lasting life. Compare chap. v. 24. vi. 35, 40, 47, 51, 54, 58, 68. x. 28. xi. 26. And many other passages in St. John's Gospel; which, according to the rule above, should be translated *lasting life*, or *life for an age;* and where our Saviour says in some of the texts referred to, that *his sheep shall not perish*, or *they that believe in him shall not die* εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, it should be rendered, *for an age.* Now this, according to the common faith of all Christians, would be so far from giving them a juster notion of the duration here intended, that it would give them a notion utterly false in itself, and extremely derogatory to that *great and eternal salvation*, of which the Son of God is become *the Author unto all them that obey him.* And, according to Mr. W.'s own scheme, this absurdity would attend it; that αἰὼν, which with him denotes the shortest period, (68 or 575, or according to his Sibylline Oracles, 400 or 500 years,) is used of the duration of the life and reward of the righteous, as much or more than of the duration of the punishment of the wicked; while yet he supposes "the duration of the "punishment of the wicked will be no greater, as "compared with the duration of the happiness of the

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"good, than two or three are to a thousand[z]." So that αἰὼν must denote a much longer period than any of his calculations of *an age* amount to, even upon his own hypothesis. Nay, as far as I can judge, it must denote a longer duration than αἰῶνες, or αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων itself, sometimes does; since these are used to denote his shorter periods of punishment[a]; and the other by itself, the long duration of happiness. In short, all his criticism upon this head is arbitrary and groundless. Αἰὼν in numberless places denotes eternity; and all its plurals and reduplications, heaped one upon another, can denote no more. They may add some beauty or strength to the expression, but nothing at all, in this case, to the sense. Nor do I see any great occasion for Mr. W.'s amendments of our modern versions, (viz. *lasting* instead of *everlasting*,) even with regard to the ordinances of the Law of Moses. English readers, if they have English understandings, will be led into no mistakes. It is such language in effect as they use every day, when they give and take in common conversation the words *everlasting* and *for ever*, in a lax and improper sense; knowing, at the same time, that the words are capable of denoting, and do in other cases denote, a real and proper eternity. It must be left to good sense to distinguish the different value of the words, upon different occasions; and that will be a sufficient security against imposition. After all, Mr. W. himself seems sensible that it may be objected to his doctrine[b], that "this consumption of the bodies of the damned may be over "in no very long time; and therefore seems not to

[z] P. 135. [a] Rev. xiv. 11. xix. 3. xx. 10. [b] P. 140.

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" come up to the terrible descriptions and representa-
" tions of what is certainly αἰωνία κόλασις, or a *long*
" and *lasting punishment.*" In return to which, he would have us consider " the doleful condition the
" wicked are in, during the entire intermediate state
" in hades; reaching from death to the day of judg-
" ment; in general, of many hundreds, or several thou-
" sands of years." But if these years were ten thousand times ten thousand, what is that to the purpose? This doleful condition in hades before the day of judgment is no part of the αἰωνία κόλασις, into which they go after it; and therefore, with regard to the terrible descriptions and representations of that everlasting punishment, is nôt to be taken into consideration at all.

Num. XXIII.

Matt. xxvi. 24. —*woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man if he had not been born.*

Mr. Whiston says[c], " It appears by this assertion
" of our Saviour's, that some men's wickedness may
" be so great, that their punishment in the other
" world will exceed all the happiness they had en-
" joyed in this life." Very tender! The punishment of such wretches as Judas will be so great, that their existence will be worse than non-existence; it will be a curse to them, and they will have reason to wish that they had *never been born.* But he proceeds; " Which implies thus much also, that such
" men's sins shall never be forgiven, even in the
" world, or age to come: as we have been already
" assured by our Saviour some sins may be." May

[c] P. 40.

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be, what? Forgiven in the world to come? We firmly believe, upon the authority of our Saviour and his apostles, that not only some sins, but all sins sincerely repented of in this world will be forgiven in the world to come. But our Saviour no where assures us, that some sins, not repented of, and consequently not forgiven, in this world, will be forgiven in the world to come. This is only a precarious inference, drawn from an expression of our Saviour's, which probably means no such thing; especially since it appears to be contrary to the plain doctrine of the New Testament in other places, as well as to the whole turn and tenor of it: (compare Num. XI.) Mr. W. goes on; "Utter destruction, or "what we should call annihilation, must therefore be "the utmost expectation of such enormous sinners: "unless the intimation the prophet" (that is, the apocryphal) "Esdras has given us of a resurrection "after the second death is over, may afford them "some glimpse of comfort, after the several ages of "their torments are over, though not till those "torments have more than outbalanced all the en-"joyments of their whole sinful life." That they may soon do. What were the enjoyments, for instance, of Judas's sinful life? Such as have been outbalanced, in all probability, ten thousand times over already, by his doleful condition in hades: yet his punishment, properly so called, in gehenna, will not commence till the day of judgment. But this by the bye: it is not worth while to inquire, what expectations of annihilation, or what glimpses of comfort, with regard to another resurrection, these enormous sinners may have; or what conjectures, mere conjectures, other persons may make concern-

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ing them. The cause must be determined by evidence. And according to the evidence arising from the constitution of nature, and the gospel of Jesus Christ, there appears to me no reason to expect either of these things. Particularly with regard to the text before us; he that can infer from these words of our Saviour, either utter destruction of being, or restoration to happiness, is endued with a faculty of inferring, which I have no desire to be master of. Because the words certainly may point out (and naturally seem to do so, rather than otherwise) a third state, distinct from the other two; and more agreeable than either of them to other testimonies of scripture.

Num. XXIV.

Mark iii. 29. *But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.* See above, Num. XI.

If he hath *never forgiveness*, as it appears from Matt. xii. 31, 32. he hath not, his damnation must be *eternal*. Consequently the word αἰώνιος, and the phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, here denote *eternity*. Whether this *eternal damnation* will be eternal destruction of being, or something else, we must learn from other texts.

Num. XXV.

Mark iv. 25. *For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.*

He that hath, (viz. any increase or improvement,) to him shall more be given; and he that hath not made any such use and improvement of his original moral endowments, from him, by the appointment

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of God, even in the natural consequences of things, they shall be taken away. This is a truth, which in part, and as far as this world is concerned, lies open to our experience. The seeds of virtue, if not cultivated, decay; the moral sense, and, in short, the whole sum of our moral powers, if not improved, are impaired; vicious acts gradually weaken virtuous principles and sentiments, and inveterate vicious habits almost wholly destroy them. This we see; and therefore, if agreeably to our Lord's declarations relating to this matter, such neglect and abuse of our moral powers should at last be punished with an entire deprivation of them; it is no more than the complete execution of that plan of Providence in another state, which we see begun, and imperfectly carried on in the present. Compare Num. XXI.

Num. XXVI.

Mark ix. 43—48. *And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thy foot offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter halt into life, than having two feet to be cast into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

It is hard to say how any doctrine can be taught more plainly, than the eternity of future punishment is, in this passage. Suppose it to be true, and that it was our Lord's design to teach it; how could he have done it in plainer words, or in a more empha-

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tical manner? He seems here to explain his own meaning of the other phrases, which he sometimes uses upon this subject. If scruples be raised, however unjustly, about the import and extent of the word αἰώνιος, here nothing depends upon that term. It rather appears from hence, that that term, as applied to this subject, must be understood in its full extent: since it is here repeated, time after time, that the fire is unquenchable, and the worm never dies. And it is our Lord's manifest design, to warn his disciples to part with any thing in this world, however useful or dear to them, rather than expose themselves to the danger of this state, because it is irretrievable. One would not, methinks, set aside the evidence of so plain and so strong a testimony of scripture, upon so interesting and so important a subject, without something of very considerable weight on the other side to overbalance it. Let us see then what engine Mr. W. employs to remove it; and whether he does it by fair strength, or only by artifice and evasion. He allows, in the first place, that "[d] this affecting description of the torments of "hell looks at first sight liker their proper eter- "nity, than almost any other in the whole Bible. "We have had the same discourse of our Saviour's, "indeed, already from St. Matthew xviii. 8, 9. (see "Num. XIV.) but not set down so distinctly, nor "under quite so terrible a representation as here. "However, it being directly taken from the last "verse of Isaiah, where it evidently belongs to a "judgment upon some wicked men in this life only, "which is very far from eternal; and belonging to "dead carcasses, which can never be eternal ages in

[d] P. 41.

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"consuming, either by worms or fire; and being "joined either with the sight, or abhorrence of those "carcasses by all flesh upon this earth only, it is "most evident, that it does no way infer the proper "eternity of such punishment, but rather the con-"trary."

The great engine, we see, that is played against us, is the last verse of Isaiah, which is this; *And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.* Now supposing here every thing that Mr. W. supposes, that this judgment, and this consumption of the dead carcasses, is in this life only; and that this sight and abhorrence of them, is upon this earth only; then indeed it is most evident, that we can no way infer the proper eternity of this punishment, which Isaiah speaks of: but it is so far from being most evident, that it is not evident at all, that therefore we cannot infer the proper eternity of the punishment which our Saviour describes in this passage of St. Mark's Gospel. For see how the argument will run; our Saviour, in describing the punishment of the wicked in hell, has taken some images and expressions from the last verse of Isaiah: but Isaiah meant to describe by those images and expressions only a temporal punishment, or a judgment executed upon this earth only; therefore we cannot infer from our Saviour's description of the punishment in hell, the proper eternity of such punishment. No; what should hinder us? Are the words capable of denoting a proper eternity, when the subject will bear, and the occasion and context

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lead to it? This is not denied. On the contrary, it is acknowledged, that this description, at first sight, looks liker a proper eternity, than almost any other in the Bible. But then it is taken from Isaiah, where it does not denote a proper eternity. And how should it, according to Mr. W.'s own account? Since the whole scene of the transaction, the judgment, the consumption of the carcasses, the sight and abhorrence of them, is all to be in this life, and upon this earth only. If so, reason and good sense will lead every one to understand the description in such a sense, and such a sense only, as the subject described will admit of. But what is this to our Saviour's description in St. Mark? He is plainly describing a judgment which does not belong to this life; a punishment which is not to be inflicted in this world, or upon this earth. If then our Lord could borrow from Isaiah a description of a punishment in this world, and apply it to the punishments of another world; why might he not (if the words will bear it) intend to denote the eternity of these punishments, though the punishment intended by Isaiah is only temporal? For it is plain, though the description or representation be the same, the subject is changed; and that, after all, must be the key to let us into the meaning[c]. Our Saviour repeats the description so often, and seems to lay such a stress upon it, that one can scarce forbear thinking he designed to teach us, that, whatever may become of the *worm* and the *fire* mentioned by Isaiah, he was describing a punishment, under those images, which really and truly should never end: here, in-

[c] Quem non terreat ista repetitio, et illius pœnæ comminatio tam vehemens ore divino? *Aug. De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 9.

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deed, *the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.* The matter, at last, will come to this dilemma[f]; Isaiah, in his last verse, is either describing the punishment of hell, or he is not. Upon the

[f] N. B. The ancients understand Isaiah's words of hell torments. So St. Cyprian, ed. Fell. p. 195. ad Demetrianum. So Eusebius, Præparatio Evangel. lib. xi. ad finem.

Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὅρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί. Τηρεῖ δὲ ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων συνῴδων τούτοις, τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰπὼν χωρήσειν εἰς Τάρταρον, ἐπιλέγει, ὅθεν οὔποτε ἐκβαίνουσι.

And so Jerom on the place: he does indeed speak of some "qui volunt supplicia aliquando finiri, licet post multa tempora;" and expresses some hopes of this kind himself, with regard to Christians; but as to the Devil, and wicked atheistical men, *who said in their hearts, There is no God,* "credimus æterna tormenta." However, he plainly understands Isaiah's words of hell torments. So do, amongst the moderns, Vitringa, who confutes the jejune interpretation of Grotius; Dr. Clarke, in his Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 397. 7th edit.; and Dr. Chapman, in his Eusebius, vol. ii. N. B. Mr. Whiston quotes St. Cyprian's words referred to above, in his 90th page. And though they contain as full and clear a testimony for the eternity of hell torments as can easily be given, yet he concludes his remark upon them thus; "But whether he (Cyprian) believed the torments to be properly "eternal, I do not certainly know." That is, he will know nothing but what he has a mind to know, and makes for him. St. Cyprian does not only call them "æterna supplicia gehennæ," but says expressly, "Cremabit addictos ardens semper gehenna, et vi- "vacibus flammis vorax pœna; nec erit unde habere tormenta vel "requiem possint aliquando vel finem. Servabuntur cum corpori- "bus suis animæ infinitis cruciatibus ad dolorem. Spectabitur "illic a nobis semper, qui hic nos spectavit ad tempus: et in "persecutionibus factis oculorum crudelium brevis fructus, per- "petua visione pensabitur.——Erit tunc sine fructu pœnitentia, "dolor pœnæ, inanis ploratio, et inefficax deprecatio. In æter- "nam pœnam sero credent, qui in vitam æternam credere nolu- "erunt." In the next page, Cyprian declares as clearly against Mr. W.'s repentance in hades, as he does here against his temporary punishments in gehenna.

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first supposition, what Mr. W. has said above is all foreign to the purpose, being founded upon an entire mistake. If, according to the latter, he is not describing the punishments of hell, but only some judgment executed in this world; then it is plain, our Saviour and he are describing two very different sorts of punishments; and therefore, though our Saviour's representation may allude to his, or be taken from it, it is against all reason to make the one the rule and measure of interpreting the other. Surely it is no unusual thing to allude to the language of another person, or to borrow descriptions from him; and use them, upon different subjects, in a different and more extensive sense. Our Saviour's words must have some determinate meaning of their own, and if that appear to be for the eternity of the punishment which he is representing, nothing that Isaiah has said can possibly make it otherwise.

But Mr. W.'s reasoning is not only inconclusive, but it also comes with the worse grace from him, as it carries some appearance of inconsistency. He is here for setting aside a remarkable testimony of our Saviour's for the eternity of future punishment, because it is expressed in the language of Isaiah, originally intended to denote some punishment only in this world. And yet from this same language, alluding to this text of Isaiah, "which originally re-"lated to nothing else but to the utter destruction "of the enemies of God's church, before the end of "the world [g]," he would infer the nature of hell torments, after the end of the world, and the consumption of the bodies of the damned by fire and worms. Yet neither our Saviour in the passage before us,

[g] P. 24.

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nor Isaiah in his last verse, say one word about the consumption of their bodies by fire and worms; nor so much as mention worms at all. They speak indeed of *one worm, that dieth not;* which we have no more occasion to understand literally for a real worm, than to understand St. Paul's *thorn in the flesh* literally for a real thorn. In a word, so arbitrary and unreasonable is Mr. W.'s behaviour in this case, that he will not allow us to infer from the texts what they plainly say, viz. *that the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;* (which, whatever the nature of the punishment may be, plainly implies that the duration of it is endless;) while he himself takes the liberty to infer from them plainly what they do not say; that is, the consumption of the bodies of the damned by fire and worms. See his 109th page, and compare the quotation under Num. X. above.

Num. XXVII.

Mark ix. 49, 50. *For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his saltness, wherewith will ye season it?*

It would be endless to recite the different interpretations of this text. But supposing it to relate to our subject at all, and that the *fire* here mentioned is the same with that which is spoken of in the six preceding verses; the only question will be, about the import of the word ἁλισθήσεται, *salted.* Not that the Greek word has any ambiguity in it; but [h] Le Clerc and some others seem to imagine, that our Sa-

[h] Supplement to Dr. Hammond.

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viour made use of one that had, and which signified either to be salted, or to be consumed. But if by being consumed they mean totally destroyed, so as to cease to exist, they make our Lord contradict all that he had been saying before, about the *never-dying worm*, and the *fire that shall never be quenched*. Others therefore suppose, that he here assigns the reason of their endless duration, by saying, that every such victim of God's righteous vengeance shall be *salted with fire*. It is well known that salt is the symbol of perpetuity; and it is sometimes put synonymously with brimstone, as Deut. xxix. 23. which in symbolical language denotes, that the fire it is joined with is not to be extinguished. A *lake of fire and brimstone*, or *a lake of fire burning with brimstone*, (Rev. xix. 20. xx. 10.) is a lake of perpetual fire. And when hell fire is thus described, it evidently shews it to be an eternal fire of torment and destruction; not in the sense of utter destruction of being, but in a sense exclusive of any restoration or recovery[i]. But be this as it will, the text before us is too obscure to build any doctrine of consequence upon; especially if that doctrine be contrary to many clear passages of scripture, or to the general drift and design of it; as that of annihilation seems to be.

Num. XXVIII.

Mark xiv. 21. —*woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had never been born.* See Num. XXIII.

[i] If any one would see more on this subject, he may consult Daubuz on Rev. ix. 17; Lancaster's Symbolical Dictionary, under the word *salt*; Dr. Berriman's Sermon preached to the Religious Societies, 1738-9, on Mark ix. 50.

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Num. XXIX.

Luke iii. 9. *And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*

Num. XXX.

Luke iii. 17. *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.* For these two texts, see Num. I. and II.

As to Mr. W.'s saying that these words are very much of a piece with those already cited from Isaiah; (p. 41.) there appears to be little in it either as to the assertion itself, or the consequence he would have drawn from it. See Num. XXVI.

Num. XXXI.

Luke viii. 18. *Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have.*

We have here the same instruction conveyed to us by the parable of the sower, which we had before from the parable of the talents; see Num. XXI. and compare Num. XXV. The present life is the season of cultivation and improvement. The seed, which is the word of God, is sown here; and must bring forth fruit here, or else the opportunity is lost for ever. Unfruitfulness will be punished with the loss of the very principle of fertility. And a power of which no proper use has been made, during the whole proper season of exerting that power, will be taken away.

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Num. XXXII.

Luke xii. 5. *But I will forewarn you whom you shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.* See Num. X.

St. Matthew's phrase there, *is able to destroy both soul and body in hell*, no more means utter destruction, or deprivation of being, than St. Luke's here, *hath power to cast into hell.*

Num. XXXIII.

Luke xii. 10. *—but unto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven.* See Num. XI. and XXIV.

Num. XXXIV.

Luke xii. 46. *The lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.* See Num. XIX.

It is plain here, from the whole context, that none but they who are *ready* when their *Lord cometh*, and *open to him immediately*, when *he knocketh*, are admitted into the kingdom of heaven. The rest are excluded, and have *their portion* with hypocrites and unbelievers. How unjustifiable then is the conduct of those, who would persuade them that they may, notwithstanding, have their *portion*, at last, with *the saints!*

Num. XXXV.

Luke xii. 47, 48. *And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes.*

These words plainly teach us, that the punish-

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ment of some sinners will be greater than that of others. But this, it seems, will not satisfy Mr. W., since some will be beaten with *many*, others with *few stripes*, in the future world; this, he [k] says, "most naturally implies, that the punishment of "some of the wicked shall be much longer than of "others." Now if the New Testament taught this doctrine, as plainly as it does the contrary, these words, if not most naturally, might naturally enough be thought to imply it. But if this be not the case, and if the words be as naturally capable of another sense, more consistent with the tenor of the New Testament; I leave the world to judge what the words most naturally imply. Surely one sinner may be beaten with fewer stripes, his misery and punishment may be less than another's; though the duration of their punishment be equal, and endless: just as the degrees of glory and happiness in heaven may be various and different, though they be all of equal and eternal duration. Saying without proof, that this equal duration of torments is contrary to the most obvious rules of right and justice in the world, is doing nothing. We deny it; and assert that there is nothing contrary to right and justice, that they who are not fit for the kingdom of heaven, should be excluded out of it for ever. The consequences of this exclusion will be exactly according to the different demerits of sinners: so that *the Judge of all the earth* will certainly *do right*.

Num. XXXVI.

Luke xii. 59. *I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.* See Num. IV. and XV. and Theoph. in loc.

[k] P. 108.

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Num. XXXVII.

Luke xiii. 27, 28. *But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.* See Num. VIII. IX. XX.

This doctrine of the final exclusion of the wicked runs uniformly throughout the New Testament.

Num. XXXVIII.

Luke xiv. 34, 35. *Salt is good: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill; but men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

If the meaning of these words be, that men may become in a moral sense what *salt that hath lost its savour* is, in a natural; they are a clear proof of the utter moral incapacity of the wicked to grow better: on which, as I conceive, the doctrine of their eternal punishment all along proceeds. And compared with Matt. v. 13. they teach us, that when the disciples of Christ thus degenerate, they especially become worthless, and *thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out.*

Num. XXXIX.

Luke xvi. from ver. 22. to ver. 31. inclusive. *And in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tor-*

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mented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed: so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence. Then he said, I pray thee therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house: for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.

The plain instruction that arises from this parable appears to me to be this; that our fate in another life depends upon our conduct in this; and that there is no alteration of the future state, as to the nature and kind of it; but, be our portion happiness or misery, it is what we must abide by; there is no passing from the one to the other. The rich man's requests, in his own behalf, and in behalf of his brethren, are equally rejected. With regard to the first, he is reminded, that he had received his good things already; which was in effect reminding him (since there could be no sin in the bare receiving them) of his abuse of them. And besides, there was an obstacle in the very nature of the thing, which rendered his request impossible to be complied with. And as to his other request, in behalf of his five brethren, he is given to understand, that they have the proper means of instruction in their hands, the writings of Moses and the prophets, which they ought to attend to and obey. And that, if they would not, a messenger from the dead would, as to the purposes of real conversion, be equally use-

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less and ineffectual. All this seems to me to imply very strongly, that our fortunes are now depending; that this life is our probation; is furnished with means sufficient for that purpose; and that, if these be neglected, there is no other resource which will serve as well, or be of any avail hereafter. This is the light in which the parable always appeared to me; and in which it does still, notwithstanding the colours with which Mr. W. has endeavoured to disguise it. The rich man being only in hades, not in gehenna, "his torment," Mr. W. says[1], "was only "medicinal, and designed for his conversion and sal- "vation." But whence does this consequence appear? the rich man himself seems to know nothing of this design of his punishment. Nor does the benevolent patriarch Abraham give him any intimation of this kind; though it would probably have been a greater comfort and relief to him than a drop of water to cool his tongue. But the "circum- "stances of the rich man," Mr. W. says, "agree with "his being in hades, in order to his amendment. In- "corrigible sinners are always represented as in pri- "son, in hades, and close confined there till the day "of judgment, without any positive torments inflict- "ed on them there: whereas, he is represented as "out of prison, and in great torment." That the rich man is represented as in hades, I grant; but I still see no proof of the consequence, that this punishment was in order to his amendment. Supposing that incorrigible sinners are in prison, is not he in prison? No; Mr. W. says, "he is represented as "out of prison." But where, or what is this representation? Does his holding a dialogue with Abra-

[1] P. 120.

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ham imply that he is not close confined? he seems to think that he is, and therefore would send Lazarus on his errands. And he speaks of *this flame*, and of *this place of torment*, as a man naturally would do that was confined to them. But here Mr. W. again takes his advantage: "He is represented in "great torment, whereas incorrigible sinners have no "positive torments inflicted on them in hades." Incorrigible sinners are represented by him upon other occasions in a very "doleful condition in hades[m];" and that is enough for our purpose. For the parable says nothing about the torments being positive or not positive; and there is no manner of necessity to interpret *the flame*, in which he says he is tormented, of a literal and real fire. By the same rule we must take all the rest literally; and then Abraham, in the separate state, must have a bosom; Lazarus must literally lay his head in it, and have a finger too to dip in real water; and the rich man himself have eyes and a tongue. But Mr. W. observes further, that "Abraham does not treat him as a damned "wretch that deserved no compassion or answer, "but calls him *son*," &c. Now we know so little of the manner how separate spirits, good and evil, treat one another, and can infer with so little certainty any thing from it, that this argument perhaps might safely enough be left to Mr. W. to make his best of it: *Et valeat, quantum valere potest.* However, we may recollect, that it was no part of Abraham's business either to judge or condemn him; and since the very nature and design of the parable required that he should discourse with him, it is more suitable to Abraham's character, as well as to our

[m] P. 140.

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Lord's who spake the parable, that it should be conducted with decency and decorum, than that Abraham should treat him as a "damned wretch," how much soever he might deserve it. As to his having been an infidel, or sadducee, in his lifetime, I cannot admit that for any great extenuation of his guilt, though it seems to be suggested to this purpose. "In "all likelihood he had disbelieved all that was said "by the pharisees and Essenes out of the Old Testa- "ment, concerning the rewards and punishments of "the future world." Any one may see for what purpose the pharisees and Essenes are brought upon the stage; only to alleviate his crime, as if it consisted in disbelieving only their doctrine, or something that they taught, with or without reason, out of the Old Testament. Whereas the truth is, if there be any truth at all in the fact[n], he had disbelieved that prime article of all religion, the rewards and punishments of another life; a doctrine so independant of all authority of pharisees and Essenes, that no religion ever did, or ever can, subsist without it; and

[n] Which probably there is not. For though Mr. W. says that "the rich man in all likelihood had been a *sadducee*," it rather appears that he had been a *pharisee*. Our Lord had been persuading his hearers to pursue and prefer the *true riches*, and told them that they could *not serve God and mammon*. *The pharisees, who were* rich and *covetous*, heard these things, *and derided him*. Our Saviour severely reproves them, verse 15; and intimating to them that their law and external kind of religion, which they valued themselves so much upon, was just expiring, and to be succeeded by one of greater purity and perfection, he then immediately adds the parable; in which the rich man is not accused of infidelity, (for the persons against whom it was designed were all believers,) but of luxury and uncharitableness; and his brethren are to be persuaded not to believe, but to repent.

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which being taken away, there is no sufficient inducement left to come to God in any religious act at all. Well, but he "shews himself now throughly "convinced of that pernicious error." Which is as small an argument of his virtue, as his infidelity before was an extenuation of his guilt: *The devils also believe, and tremble.* And who can persist in an error, of which his very existence is a confutation? But he is also "become very compassionate to "his own five brethren; which is so far from a cha- "racter of infernal obstinacy and savage cruelty, such "as that of the incurably wicked may be supposed to "be, that it looks liker a preliminary to true Chris- "tian charity, and to a real repentance for his bar- "barity towards Lazarus before[o]." There is nothing

[o] Some have imagined that this compassion to his brethren was at bottom only compassion to himself. He had contributed, by his example and influence, to make them wicked, as they were; and was therefore afraid, that if they came into that place of torment, they might possibly prove his tormentors. But there is no need of any reason, but the reason of the parable. It being evidently our Lord's design, in this part of it, to shew, that men have already sufficient evidence and inducements to believe in God, and to obey him, and that therefore unreasonable expectations in religion would not be gratified; this, I say, being his design, it becomes necessary that the rich man should make this extraordinary request, and that Abraham should reject it. But his real compassion to his brethren is no more an inference from this request, than Abraham's want of benevolence is from his refusal to comply with it. I have taken no notice of Mr. W.'s conjecture, that "the most terrible part of this description" was taken by our Saviour out of the fourth book of Esdras. The best critics allow, and it is evident to any one that reads it with attention, that it is later than our Saviour's time. The learned Dr. Chapman sets it a hundred years after Christ at least; (Eusebius, vol. ii. p. 88.) and Du Pin, after he has observed that it is full of visions

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in this, that I can see, more than is necessary to answer the design of the parable: he must entreat Abraham in behalf of his brethren; and the more heartily he does this, the more reason have we to conclude, from his being refused, that no importunities will prevail for extraordinary favours, when the ordinary stated methods of Providence, which were in themselves sufficient, have been neglected. To say all in a word; the whole series of the reasoning we have been here amused with, amounts to just nothing. From a phrase, or circumstance of a parable, all rational men agree, no consequence is to be drawn beyond the scope and design of it. But Mr. W. seems to have taken the quite contrary way. He has overlooked the design of this parable, which is to teach us, that according to our good or ill behaviour in this life will be our condition in the other, and that, as far as appears, without alteration and without end; and, instead thereof, has entertained us with some precarious inferences from the little circumstances and incidental parts of the parable; from which nothing, with any certainty, can be concluded at all. As to what he adds about the gospel's being preached to the rich man in hades, and his being brought by that, and his severe punishment, to true repentance; it is a point, I conceive, considered merely in itself, of very little concern to any man living. The person and the preaching being both perhaps imaginary, they are, in that respect, exactly suited to one another. But it is of the last importance to every man not to suffer him-

and dreams, and several errors, says, it is doubtless a converted Jew who penned it. *History of the Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 26. English edit.

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self to be *deceived with vain words*, or vain reasonings, so as to incur the danger of coming into such *place of torment*, upon the vain presumption of being delivered out of it. Compare Theophylact. in loc.

Numb. XL.

Luke xvii. 34—37. *I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken, and the other left. Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left. And they answered and said unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.* See Numb. XVIII.

Many refer these words to the destruction of Jerusalem. If they relate to the end of the world, they shew the righteous distinction which will then be made, agreeably to the whole tenor of the New Testament. And our Lord's answer, in the 37th verse[p], which is a proverbial speech, and has no relation to the eagles in the Roman standards, as some have imagined, shews the universality of the case; and that every where, wheresoever circumstances are the same, the event will be the same likewise.

Num. XLI.

Luke xix. 26. *For I say unto you, That unto every one which hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, even that he hath shall be taken away from him.* See Numbers XXI. XXV. XXXI.

[p] Sententia proverbialis sumpta ex Jobo, 39. in fine cap. Vid. Tremell. in Matt. xxiv. 28. See also Dr. Wall on the same place; and Dr. Clarke's Sermon on the text, in his Eighteen Sermons, p. 36.

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Num. XLII.

John iii. 36. *He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

Num. XLIII.

John v. 28, 29. —*the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.*

Life, in St. John's language, denotes that eternal life which God hath given to us in his Son; not merely existence, but existence in a state of supreme felicity. And agreeably to this, *death* means, with him, not nonexistence, or destruction of being, but a state opposite to that of happiness, a state of misery and condemnation. A wicked infidelity brings us into this state of condemnation in the present life, *He that believeth not is condemned already*, ch. iii. 18. As on the contrary, *He that heareth my word*, says our Lord, *and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life*, ch. v. 24. They who die in their infidelity and their sins, die, as they lived, in a state of condemnation; and there is no alteration of this in hades, that I can find, in St. John's doctrine; (for then *cometh the night, when no man can work*;) so that when *they come forth* out of their *graves*, it is *unto the resurrection of damnation*; a state of condemnation as before, only made more sensibly so by greater degrees of punishment. This appears to me to be a short account of St. John's doctrine upon this subject; who, if he has little directly concerning the

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duration of future punishments, seems every where to suppose that there is no change of state, as to the nature and kind of it, after death; and drops no intimations either of utter destruction of being, or restoration to happiness.

Num. XLIV.

John viii. 21. *Then said Jesus again unto them, I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins: whither I go, ye cannot come*[q].

The same declaration, *Whither I go, ye cannot come*, is afterwards repeated to the disciples, chap. xiii. 33; but then it is explained to Peter, at the 36th verse of the same chapter; *Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now; but thou shalt follow me afterwards.* But there is no such limitation with regard to the pharisees in the text before us; of them it is said, that they should *die in their sins*, and not come whither Christ is gone, either now or afterwards. Which implies that all others, who die, like them, in their sins, shall be excluded from the presence of Christ.

Num. XLV.

John ix. 4. *I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work.*

The *night* here means, in all probability, the *night of death*; and then this declaration of our Lord's will be of the same kind with that of Solomon, Eccl. ix. 10. *Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave,* (in hades,)

[q] John x. 26. viii. 21, 24. *Ye are none of my sheep, ye shall die in your sins:* which is the same as to say, *Ye will never be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.* Dr. Clarke's Sermon of the sin against the Holy Ghost, vol. vi. p. 25.

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whither thou goest. And in the same sense has that other passage, chap. xi. 3. usually been understood; *If the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be.* How unreasonable then is it to expect, that a state thus represented by Solomon, and by him who was wiser than Solomon, should prove after all a scene of action? Compare Dr. Burnet, *de Statu Mort. et Resurgent.* p. 97. edit. 2.

Num. XLVI.

John xi. 9, 10. *Jesus answered, Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world. But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because there is no light in him.*

Num. XLVII.

John xii. 35, 36. *Then Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light.*

This doubtless relates to our Lord himself, who, while he was in the world, was *the light of the world.* But the general reasoning in all these passages seems to imply, that if men will not *walk*, or *work, in the day*, or *while they have the light*, a night, or darkness, will succeed, in which they cannot *walk*. If there was any preaching of the gospel in hades, any *knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins* given there, I see not why the dead might not be said to *have the light*, and to *walk in the day*, as well as the living; which yet, I think, is never supposed. I know very well, a state of ignorance and corruption, such as was that of the hea-

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then world before Christ, is represented in the gospel by the images of *darkness and the shadow of death.* And in this sense, *the gospel was preached to them that were dead.* But this rather supposes than contradicts what I now aim at. For the very reason or foundation of this representation seems to be, that the state of the dead is perfectly and totally what the other, which is resembled to it, is in part only, and to a certain degree. The state of the heathen world was partly, and to a certain degree, a state of moral inactivity, for want of light and motives; for want, in one word, of *the knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins.* If this state then be compared to the state of them that are dead, what shall we infer from it? Not surely that the dead *have the light,* and *walk in the day;* or have *the knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins* preached to them; but just the contrary. However, this is foreign to our point at present; which is not concerning the repentance or non-repentance of the souls in hades, but the duration of the punishment of those who will be condemned at the day of judgment, when death and hades shall be no more.

[Num. XLVII.]

John xv. 2. *Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away.* Ver. 6. *If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned.*

These words are plain against the system of a restoration; and by no means imply that of utter destruction. For the force of the comparison does not lie in this, that the wicked are burned, that is, consumed, in the fire, as the fruitless branches of a

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vine-tree; but in this, that both being severed, the one from the natural, the other from the mystical vine, which is Christ, and so rendered utterly incapable of bringing forth their respective fruits, they are both entirely cast away, and totally rejected.

Num. XLVIII.

John xvii. 12. — *those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the scripture might be fulfilled.* Compare chap. xviii. 9.

Our Saviour could not mean ἀπώλετο in one place, or ἀπώλεσα in the other, in the sense of annihilation; for in that sense Judas, though *the son of perdition*, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, was not lost, or perished. It is usual in scripture to style men *the sons*, or *children*, of any thing or person, in order to express any extraordinary quality or relation which such thing or person is remarkable for, or may denote. Thus Judas here, and the *man of sin*, mentioned 2 Thess. ii. 3. being for their great and wilful wickedness *vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, are each of them styled *the son of perdition*. Thus the proselyte, Matt. xxiii. 15. being rendered more signally corrupt by the scribes and pharisees, is styled *a son of gehenna*, or *child of hell*. Thus wicked men are called *the sons*, or *children*, of the Devil; the faithful, *the sons*, or *children*, of Abraham; and good men, endeavouring to imitate the example of God himself, *the sons*, or *children*, of God, Matt. v. 45. The expression, *that the scripture might be fulfilled*, denotes no more than this other, *so that the scripture was fulfilled*; assigning not the cause, but the event, as Theophylact observes upon the place. The scriptures, by foretelling the crime of

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Judas, imposed no necessity of the action; nor foretold any thing that would not have come to pass, though they had been silent. It is necessary to carry this always in mind, through this debate, that no man may think that Judas[r], or any other person that shall be in the like condemnation, is ordained to it by any absolute decree of God, or necessitated by any prophecies going before of him, to such actions as lead to it, in any manner or degree inconsistent with the liberty and free choice of a moral agent.

I have now produced all the texts in the four Gospels, which any way concern the duration of future punishments; at least I have not wilfully stifled any evidence, or suppressed any testimonies, out of prejudice, or favour, to one side or another. If I have alleged any not directly pertinent to the point in hand, (which I am not conscious to myself of having done voluntarily,) it is only a little labour lost; I desire no greater stress should be laid upon them than they will bear. If they are wholly foreign, as they cannot serve, so neither can they justly hurt the cause I defend; but must be considered

[r] Nec sane aliud denuntiant prophetæ quam quod ipsis etiam tacentibus futurum erat. *Calvin. apud Marlorat. in loc.* Denique Judas dicitur periisse, ut impleretur scriptura; non quasi perierit, quia scriptura prædixerit; sed quia in eo sit impletum, quod prædictum erat scripturis. Quod vulgo sit efferunt, *ut* sumi non finaliter, sed consecutive. Nec enim Judas prodidit Christum, quia scriptura prædixerat; sed prædixit scriptura, quia Christum erat proditurus. Præviderat Deus proditurum, nisi impediret; decrerat vero permittere, et tam atrox facinus dirigere ad bonum generis humani. *Ger. Jo. Vossii Harmonia Evangel.* 4to. Amstelodami 1656, p. 166.

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as mere ciphers in the account. I may now proceed to examine the other testimonies to the same purpose, which are to be met with in the rest of the books of the New Testament; which will be the subject of the next chapter.

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CHAP. II.

Wherein the testimonies of the other books of the New Testament are produced.

Num. XLIX.

Acts i. 25. *—that he might go to his own place.*

THERE can be no reasonable doubt but that these words are spoken of Judas, and the ὁ τόπος ὁ ἴδιος is that proper place which belonged to him, as he is called υἱὸς ἀπωλείας, *the son of perdition* [a]. See Stillingfleet's Irenicum, p. 233. From this text bishop Bull has asserted the doctrine concerning the middle state of happiness or misery, allotted by God to every man presently after death, according as he has been good or bad in his past life; and proved it to be inconsistent with the popish doctrine of purgatory, as it is likewise with Mr. Whiston's. See Bull's Sermons, vol. i. Serm. III. p. 80.

Num. L.

Rom. i. 18. *For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.*

[a] St. Ignatius says, "Every one shall depart unto his own (pro-"per) place," εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον; (Epist. ad Magnes. sect. v.) on which bishop Pearson has this note; "De Juda legimus, Act. i. 25. "παρεδόθαι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. Unicuique sc. suus post mortem "assignatus est locus. Sic apud Clem. Roman. Petrus dicitur ab-"iisse εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Paulus autem εἰς τὸν ἅγιον "τόπον." Vid. Ignat. Epist. ed. Oxon. Annot. Pearsoni, p. 42.

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Num. LI.

Rom. i. 32. *Who knowing the judgment of God, (that they which commit such things are worthy of death,)*——

Num. LII.

Rom. ii. 2. *We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth against them who commit such things.*

Num. LIII.

Rom. ii. 5, 6. —*after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds.*

Num. LIV.

Rom. ii. 8, 9. —*unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil*——.

Indignation and wrath: that is, such punishment as men are apt to ascribe to indignation and wrath; but *the judgment of God* proceeds upon other motives, and will be exactly *according to truth* and justice. It is *revealed against unrighteousness;* against such unrighteousness, as men themselves know [b] to be *worthy of death;* and men *treasure it up* to themselves by their *hardness and impenitent hearts;* so that when God renders it to them, he only *renders to every man according to his deeds.* There is no sense in talking of eternal

[b] I am aware of the various reading in chap. i. ver. 32; but it is nothing to my purpose whether the Gentiles knew, or knew not, or only considered not, that such sins were *worthy of death.* All Christians, with whom only we are concerned at present, know this; though they are too apt, perhaps, not sufficiently to consider it.

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punishments, as if they proceeded from any passions in God. If that could be proved, it would be, possibly, the best presumptive argument that has been offered against their eternity. For what is more changeable and arbitrary, than the effects of passion? But the punishments of wicked men in the future state, are all along represented as founded upon the exactest reason, and truth, and justice; and are therefore as immutable as these things themselves. And if it be right and reasonable that these punishments should continue for a year, or even for a day, it will be right and reasonable that they should continue for ever; the objects still continuing the same, and all the reasons of punishment eternally subsisting. As little reason is there to represent them as instances only of power and dominion. They may fall in as naturally with God's whole scheme, and be as much according to the constitution and laws of nature, as any ordinary event which happens regularly every day. The next time therefore men object in this manner, they had better object against God's whole scheme, against the original plan, and universal constitution of Providence; the ten thousandth part of which is not comprehended by them, and which is the highest insolence in any mortal. But more of this, it may be, hereafter. I cannot but observe in passing, that αἰώνιος in ver. 7. must signify strictly *eternal*. For if they who *seek for glory, and honour, and immortality,* are put off only with lasting life, (how lasting soever,) they are put off with something infinitely less than they sought for, and may possibly think themselves disappointed.

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Num. LV.

Rom. ii. 12. —*shall also perish without law.*

N. B. Whatever the word ἀπολοῦνται, *perish*, may here mean, it is spoken of persons not concerned in the sanctions of the gospel [c].

Num. LVI.

Rom. vi. 21. —*the end of those things is death.*

Num. LVII.

Rom. vi. 23. —*the wages of sin is death:*——

Not merely the first death, or the dissolution of body and soul, attended with no other consequences; for that would not be an equal retribution [d]; but the

[c] See Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, p. 10. and 60. It is evidently synonymous to being *judged*, or *condemned*, in the latter part of the same verse.

[d] For all men die, from the most virtuous to the most perfectly vicious characters; and so through all the intermediate degrees. Besides, death, as the positive punishment and wages of sin, can never be considered barely as the separation of soul and body; (for that may be wished for, by good men, as some consolation; and even run into by the wicked, as a refuge;) but that separation, as inflicted by, and accompanied with the wrath of God. It is death therefore with all its consequences; all the consequences that may be feared from the wrath of God; or in Dr. Clarke's words, "when the death of the body is the forerunner of that "death of the soul, from which there is no hopes of release, but "the wrath of God must abide on it for ever." Vol. v. Serm. VIII. p. 159. And p. 214. of the same vol. he says, "Death in the "Old Testament generally signifies that temporal death, which is "the dissolution of the body; though when it is threatened as the "punishment of sin, it prefigures and includes in it eternal death. "Which is also sometimes expressly threatened even in the Old "Testament.—In the New Testament, death, when it is threat-"ened to sinners, signifies almost always eternal death; the gospel

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second death mentioned Rev. xxi. 8; as appears too by the opposition it stands in, in both verses, to *everlasting*, or *eternal life*. It is a state of eternal condemnation; and though that condemnation should at last end in utter extinction of being, (which we have no reason to believe, either from scripture or philosophy,) it would still be inconsistent with the doctrine of the reestablishment or restoration of impenitent sinners.—"For they forget the commands "of the living God, and live in luxury and in vain "pleasures; and are corrupted by this evil angel, "some of them even unto death; and others to a "falling away. I replied, I understand not what "you mean, by saying *unto death*, and to *a falling* "*away*. Hear, says he; All those sheep which thou "sawest exceeding joyful, are such as have for ever "departed from God, and given themselves up to "the lusts of this present time. To these therefore "there is no return, by repentance, unto life; be-"cause that to their other sins they have added this, "that they have blasphemed the name of the Lord. "These kind of men are ordained unto death.— "But they that are dead, are utterly gone for ever." Shepherd of Hermas, archbishop Wake's version, book iii. simil. 6. See Num. XCIII.

"But the way of darkness is crooked, and full of "cursing. For it is the way of eternal death, with "punishment; in which they that walk meet those "things that destroy their own souls[e]." St. Barnabas; Wake's version, p. 193. 4th edit.

"containing, as a more clear discovery of life and immortality, so "also a more express revelation of *the wrath of God from heaven*, "*against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men*."

[e] St. Barnabas does not say, *the way of eternal death*, ὁδὸς τῆς αἰων-

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"Seeing then all things have an end, there are "these two indifferently set before us, death and "life: and every one shall depart unto his proper "place." Ignatius to the Magnesians: Wake, ubi sup. p. 79.

Num. LVIII.

Rom. ix. 22. —*the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction.*

N.B. Nothing can be inferred from this text in favour of annihilation. It does not relate to the retributions of the world to come; but to the dispositions of Providence, and the judgments of God, with regard to nations or people in this world. It is one instance, amongst the rest, that the scripture does not use the word ἀπώλεια, *destruction,* in the philosophical sense of annihilation.

Num. LIX.

1 Cor. i. 18. —*the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.*

It is plain what is here meant by the word *perish: them that perish* is explained by the opposition of —*us which are saved.* The former are not saved, and therefore in that sense they *perish,* or are lost. It may not be amiss to set down here, once for all, various passages of the New Testament, where this word is used; in order to discover, and, if we can, ascertain, its meaning.

ρίας, as if their punishment at last would be the cause of their death, or ceasing to be; but μετὰ τιμωρίας, that is, such a death as is consistent with punishment. So the Constitutions, lib. i. cap. 3. "θάνατος παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐπελεύσεταί σοι αἰώνιος, ἐν αἰσθήσει πικρῷ κολαζο-"μένῳ: æterna mors tibi a Deo superveniet, et acerbo sensus "cruciatu punieris."

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Matt. ii. 13. *Herod will seek the young child* (ἀπολέσαι) *to destroy him.*

—— v. 29. —*that one of thy members should perish* (ἀπόληται).

—— vii. 13. —*the way, that leadeth to destruction* (ἀπώλειαν).

—— viii. 25. *Lord, save us: we perish* (ἀπολλύμεθα).

—— ix. 17. —*and the bottles perish.*

—— x. 6. —*the lost sheep of the house of Israel* (ἀπολωλότα). Ver. 28. —*able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* See Num. X. Ver. 39. —*shall lose it:*—*loseth his life.* Ver. 42. —*shall in no wise lose his reward.*

—— xii. 14. —*held a council, how they might destroy him.*

—— xv. 24. —*unto the lost sheep*—.

—— xxi. 41. *He will miserably destroy those wicked men.*

Mark i. 24. *Art thou come to destroy us?* —*to torment us?* Matt. viii. 29.

—— ii. 22. —*the bottles will be marred* (ἀπολοῦνται).

—— iii. 6. —*how they might destroy him.*

—— iv. 38. *Carest thou not that we perish?*

—— viii. 35. —*shall lose it;*—*lose his life for my sake.*

—— ix. 22. *Cast him into the fire, and into the waters, to destroy him.* Ver. 41. —*shall not lose his reward* (οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ).

—— xi. 18. —*sought how they might destroy him.*

—— xii. 9. *He will*—*destroy the husbandmen.*

Luke v. 37. —*the bottles shall perish.*

—— ix. 24. —*lose his life,* and ver. 25. —*lose himself, or be cast away.* Where ἀπολέσαι is explained by ζημιωθείς. Ver. 56. —*is not come to destroy men's lives.*

—— xiii. 3, 5. *Ye shall all likewise perish.* Ver. 33. *A prophet cannot perish out of Jerusalem.*

—— xv. 4. —*lose one* (viz. sheep); —*that which is lost.* Ver. 6. —*sheep which was lost.* Ver. 8. —*lose one piece.* Ver. 9. —*the piece which I had lost.* Ver. 17. *I perish with hunger.* Ver. 24. —*he was lost.* Ver. 32. —*and was lost* (ἀπολωλώς).

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Luke xvii. 27. —*the flood—destroyed them all.* Ver. 29. —*fire and brimstone, and destroyed them all.* Ver. 33. —*shall lose his life.*

—— xix. 10. —*to seek and to save that which was lost* (τὸ ἀπολωλός). Ver. 47. —*sought to destroy him.*

—— xxi. 18. —*not an hair of your head perish.*

John iii. 15, 16. —*should not perish, but have eternal life.*

—— vi. 12. —*that nothing be lost.* Ver. 27. —*the meat which perisheth.* Ver. 39. —*I should lose nothing.*

—— x. 10. —*thief cometh—to destroy.* Ver. 28. —*they shall never perish.*

—— xi. 50. —*that the whole nation perish not.*

—— xii. 25. *He that loveth his life shall lose it.*

—— xvii. 12. —*none of them is lost.* See Num. XLVIII.

—— xviii. 9. —*I have lost none.* Ver. 14. —*one man should die for the people.* Compare chap. xi. 50, 51. What is here ἀπολέσθαι, is there ἀποθάνῃ, and ἀποθνήσκειν.

Acts iii. 23. —*shall be destroyed* (ἐξολοθρευθήσεται) *from among the people.*

—— v. 37. —*he also perished;* (viz. *Judas of Galilee.*)

—— xxv. 16. —*to deliver any man to die* (εἰς ἀπώλειαν).

Rom. ii. 12. —*shall also perish without law.* See Num. LV. chap. ix. 22. Num. LVIII.

—— xiv. 15. *Destroy not him with thy meat.*

1 Cor. v. 5. —*for the destruction* (εἰς ὄλεθρον) *of the flesh.*

—— viii. 11. —*the weak brother perish.*

—— x. 9. —*were destroyed of serpents.* Ver 10. —*were destroyed of the destroyer;* a destroying angel: and their *carcasses fell in the wilderness,* Heb. iii. 17. Compare Numb. xiv. 29, &c.

—— xv. 18. *They which are fallen asleep—are perished.*

2 Cor. ii. 15. —*and in them that perish.*

—— iv. 3. —*it is hid to them that are lost.* Ver. 9. —*but not destroyed.*

2 Thess. ii. 3. *The son of perdition.* Ver. 10. —*in them that perish.* As for chap. i. 9. see Num. LXIX.

1 Tim. vi. 9. See Num. LXXII.

Heb. i. 11. *They* (the earth and heavens) *shall perish.*

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Heb. xi. 28. —*he that destroyed the firstborn* (ὁ ὀλοθρεύων).
Ver. 31. —*the harlot Rahab perished not.*
James i. 11. —*the grace of the fashion of it perisheth.*
——— iv. 12. *Who is able to save and to destroy.* See Num. LXXXI.
1 Peter i. 7. —*gold that perisheth.*
2 Peter iii. 6. *The world—overflowed with water, perished.*
Ver. 9. —*not willing that any should perish.*
2 John ver. 8. *That we lose not those things—.*
Jude ver. 5. *Afterward destroyed them that believed not.*
Ver. 11. *And perished in the gainsaying of Core.*
Rev. ix. 11. —*the angel of the bottomless pit,—in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon:* that is to say, *a destroyer* (marg.)
——— xvii. 8, 11. *The beast—goeth into perdition.* That is, the great tyrannical power, or empire, represented by the *beast*, will be destroyed.

From these passages, where the word ὄλλυμαι, or some of its compounds or derivatives, is used, we may see plainly that nothing can be inferred, merely from the use and sense of that word in the New Testament, in favour of annihilation. It may be asked, in which of the texts above it has any such import? Let them be pointed out. I will point out one or two, in which it is as likely to bear this signification as in any of the rest; and yet, if Mr. Whiston admits it, he must relinquish a considerable part of his scheme. John iii. 15, 16. If annihilation be here meant, it is plainly said that these believers shall not be annihilated; contrary to Mr. W.'s insinuations, that even the blessed in heaven shall at last be no more. But it is far from being plain or certain, that this is the sense of the word either here or in that other similar text, John x. 28. Whatever the word may mean in the mouth of a philosopher, (as where Socrates says in Plato, ἀθάνατος ἡμῶν ἡ

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ψυχὴ, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπόλλυται,) this is not the meaning of it in scripture, or in other writings which do not treat of philosophical subjects. We may (as bishop Pearson observes) as well conclude that whosoever says he is undone, (ὄλλυμαι, *perii*,) intends thereby that he shall be no more. On the Creed, p. 393.

Num. LX.

1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. *Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.——If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire.*

If any man's work shall be burned, [by the fire, at the day of judgment, says Mr. W.] *he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire:* [such as the rich man underwent in hades, Luke xiv. 24.] p. 42.

All this is *gratis dictum.* Grotius and Le Clerc[f], and others of great note, understand by *the day,* mentioned ver. 13. not the day of judgment, but time, which will discover what is true and false; for truth is the daughter of time. And then the *fire* will be that stricter and more accurate examination of doctrines, which after some time Christians would set themselves to; and upon which the false would be rejected, and the true retained. This is certain, that some of the apostle's terms here made use of, must be interpreted figuratively. *Wood, hay,* and *stubble* do not mean literally wood, hay, and stubble, (which may indeed be *burned by fire,*) but false

[f] See Poole's Synopsis, and Le Clerc's Supplement to Hammond.

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doctrines; and what fire can burn them? But I insist not upon this: allowing that by *the day* is meant the day of judgment, and by *fire*, real literal fire; the meaning will only be, what every one grants, that the day of judgment will make a full distinction between true doctrines and false. The true, like gold, silver, and precious stones, will abide the trial; while the false will be destroyed, and come to nothing, as wood, hay, and stubble are consumed by fire. Thus the man will *suffer loss*; the loss of his work itself, and of the labour and pains he was at in building it. He *himself*, however, *shall be saved*. So that he is not one of those to whom our Lord will say, *Depart from me, ye cursed*, &c. and consequently nothing can be inferred from his case, concerning the perpetuity, or non-perpetuity, of punishment after the day of judgment; in which he is not concerned. But then, though he be saved at the day of judgment, yet he is *saved so as by fire*; "such," says Mr. W., "as the rich man under-"went in hades," Luke xvi. 24. That point has been considered already; see Num. XXXIX. But I shall add here the words of the great Cudworth[s], that "to say that incorporeal substances ununited to "bodies" (and such, for any thing Mr. W. has said to the contrary, are human souls in the intermediate state) "can be tormented with *fire*, is as much as in "us lieth, to expose Christianity and the scripture, "to the scorn and contempt of all philosophers and "philosophic wits." But what then is the meaning of *being saved; yet so as by fire?* Every one knows that it is a proverbial phrase, used not only in scripture, but in profane authors, to signify "a narrow

[s] Intell. System, p. 817.

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"escape out of a great danger." Instances sufficient of this may be seen in archbp. Tillotson's sermon on this very text; who observes further, that the particle of similitude (ὡς) plainly shews, that the apostle did not intend an escape out of the fire literally, but such an escape as men make out of a house or town that is on fire [h]. The point is really too plain to bear a dispute; and therefore Mr. W.'s reasoning (if one may call it so) upon the place proceeds wholly upon a mistake. Lesser sins and greater sins, if they have been repented of, will be forgiven *in the world to come* without burning; the salutary effects of which Mr. W. seems to have too high an opinion of. He makes some amends however, by owning, in effect, that the "denial of fundamentals "by professed Christians, *may* be then irremissible." As for his subjoining—"though not to be punished "with endless torments, but only with utter con-"sumption;" it is a bare conjecture, contrary to the best philosophy; and, by his own confession, not directly asserted in any one text of scripture. See Num. X.

Num. LXI.

1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. *—the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, &c.—shall inherit the kingdom of God.*

Theophylact observes, that the apostle here intimates, that there were some even then, who through false notions of God's goodness, or philanthropy, were willing to persuade themselves that he would not punish. But here is as plain a declaration, as a

[h] With difficulty, so as a man escapes out of a house which is on fire. *Dr. Clarke's Sermons*, vol. ix. p. 198.

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few words can make it, of the exclusion of the unrighteous from the kingdom of God. And it is extreme folly and presumption to expect any after-admission into it, when the sentence is once passed, and *the door is shut; Be not deceived.*

Num. LXI.

1 Cor. viii. 11. —*Through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish?* See Num. LIX.

Num. LXII.

2 Cor. ii. 15, 16. —*in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life.*

Num. LXIII.

2 Cor. iv. 3. —*if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost.*

Num. LXIV.

Gal. v. 21. —*as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Compare Num. LXI.

Num. LXV.

Gal. vi. 7, 8. *Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption.* Parallel to Rom. viii. 13. —*if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die.* See Num. LVII.

Num. LXVI.

Ephes. v. 5. *For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, &c.—hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.* See Num. LXI. LXIV.

Num. LXVII.

Philipp. iii. 19. *Whose end is destruction,—*

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Num. LXVIII.

1 Thess. v. 3. —*then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape.*

Num. LXIX.

2 Thess. i. 9. *Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.*

Which Mr. Whiston renders thus;—"*Who shall* "*have for punishment* ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον, a lasting destruc- "tion, *from the presence of the Lord, and from the* "*glory of his power.*" And his remark upon it is as follows: "This text is so far from affirming, as is "commonly supposed, that the wicked shall, at the "last day, be preserved in being, in order to the en- "during everlasting torments, that it rather implies "the direct contrary; that the flaming fire into "which they are to be cast at that day, will, in "some time, utterly consume them." P. 43.

Now this version and this comment are, in my opinion, utterly inconsistent. If ὄλεθρος means *annihilation*, αἰώνιος must mean *everlasting*; for to talk of lasting annihilation only, as distinguished from everlasting, is nonsense. If the flaming fire, into which the wicked are to be cast, will utterly consume them, their destruction will be not barely lasting, but everlasting. But to let this pass; what is it that Mr. Whiston grounds his remark upon, that "this text implies that the wicked will be utterly "consumed?" is it upon the import of the word ὄλεθρος, *destruction*? that word here imports no such thing. As explained by Matt. xxv. 41, 46. it evidently means eternal exclusion from Christ, and departure *into everlasting punishment.* There it is,

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Depart from me, (ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,) *ye cursed, into everlasting fire;* ver. 46. *into everlasting punishment* (εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον). Here it is, *everlasting destruction from the presence* (ἀπὸ προσώπου) *of the Lord, and from the glory of his power;* or, from his glorious power. To say the truth, Mr. W. does not seem to lay the stress of the thing upon the meaning of this word at all, but upon the *flaming fire*[i] mentioned ver. 8. But how does this imply that the fire will utterly consume them? them too! as if the fire would utterly consume their whole persons, body and soul: which he allows in another place (see Num. X.) it is not capable of doing. Well, but the fire will utterly consume their bodies. Does this text, or any text, imply this? if it does, it can only be for this reason, because it is of the nature of fire to consume human bodies. But can any one think seriously, that this fire will have the same effect upon the bodies of the wicked after their resurrection, which fire has upon human bodies now? What absurdities will not this run us into? for if this be the case, the fire into which they are to be cast will not only utterly consume them, in some time, but in a very little time. The present human body would be utterly consumed by such flaming fire in a few minutes. And will God raise up the bodies of the wicked, and reunite them with their souls, only

[i] Theophylact observes, that the flaming fire may be joined either with the taking vengeance, and so relate to the punishments in gehenna; or to the coming, or revelation of Christ, which will be in, or with, flaming fire: so David, Psalm xcvi. 3. (xcvii. 3.) *A fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round about:* and Daniel vii. 10. *A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him.*

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that they may be utterly consumed in a few minutes[k]? believe it who can! Besides, call you this *taking vengeance*? it is shewing favour. It is, in effect, reducing these sinners back again from gehenna, their proper place of punishment, into hades the separate state; where they cannot be punished by such external torments at all. Is it not infinitely more congruous to think, that the union between soul and body, just reestablished, will continue; and the whole person that sinned be punished? Hear Mr. W. himself upon the point; "It deserves "our remark further," says he, p. 109. "that the "ancient Christians had little notion of directly pu- "nishing a separate soul, or a soul in another ve- "hicle or body, for what the man, composed of a "soul and present body, had been guilty of: and

[k] But suppose, to prevent dispute, we put hours or days instead of minutes, the thing is still absurd. And if we argue from the force and influence which fire has over human bodies here, it cannot possibly be many hours or days in consuming them. Mr. W. sure will not take refuge in the poor expedient of their bodies being miraculously preserved; a weight, with which he is often attempting to load the common opinion. But to remove it, I take the liberty to acquaint him, once for all, that he is entirely mistaken. We wholly reject all arbitrary acts, all miraculous interpositions, of mere power, either for destruction or preservation in this question; being fully conscious, that if we cannot defend our side of it consistently with the nature and constitution of things under the laws of God's ordinary providence, we cannot defend it at all. But, to the point in hand, what I say is this; the flaming fire here spoken of must either act as fire acts upon human bodies now, or not. If it does, it will consume the bodies almost as soon as they are cast into it; (which is absurd in reason, and contrary to the scripture representations of these future torments;) if it does not, there is no consequence in the argument, that it will utterly consume the future bodies, because fire now consumes the present.

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"did hardly think it consistent with justice so to "do." Perhaps Mr. W. supposes, that the soul, after this second separation from the body, will be punished no more. He says nothing about it in the passage before us; but rather seems to think that body and soul will both be utterly consumed: but in a passage, formerly quoted, (see Num. X.) he intimates, that as the soul may not then be utterly destroyed, "it may remain capable of a second re-"surrection, after the second death is over." Lay these things now together, and you see those terrors of the Lord which are to persuade men, reduced to little more, or no more, than what many have suffered in this world; being burnt to death. The *fire* (he adds *worms* too, in the place referred to) will utterly consume the body, (and if at all, very quickly[1],) and the soul, without any further punishment, will be capable of a second resurrection. How dare men trifle thus with the vengeance of that God, who is himself *a consuming fire?* Sure some men's concern is only for the wicked, and their mercy confined to those *whom God abhors.* The virtuous and happy, and only valuable part of God's rational creation, are to be annihilated; because, forsooth, "coeternity with God" (that is, if he means any thing to the purpose, eternity, *à parte post,*) "is too vast and immense a thing to be expected." (See p. 64.) The curable part of mankind are to be burnt (contrary to all reason, scripture, philosophy,

[1] "In no very long time," he himself seems to think there is reason to "suspect;" (p. 139, 140.) and see the answer he makes to an objection rising hence, from the intermediate punishments in hades, which are nothing to the purpose; under Num. XXII. towards the end.

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and common sense) in hades; some of them, it may be, for thousands of years. But when we come to the torments of the wicked in hell, their κόλασις αἰώνια is to be—what?—it is but too plain from what I have said already, and I will not repeat it.

But there is one passage of scripture, suggested by Mr. W. himself, which gives a decisive blow to his phantom of a second death, and a second resurrection [m]. St. John, in the xxth chapter of his Revelation, describes the general resurrection, and general judgment; *I saw*, says he, *the dead, small and great, stand before God;—And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hades delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.* Immediately after he adds; *And death and hades were* (themselves) *cast into the lake of fire: this is the second death.* The meaning of which is, if words have any meaning at all, that there shall no more be any such event as death, or the separation of soul and body; nor any more any such place or state as that of hades, or the separate existence of souls. These things, represented here as persons, must utterly cease to act, and to be;

[m] Cujus (mortis) non ea vis est, ut injustas animas extinguat omnino, sed ut puniat in æternum. Eam pœnam, secundam mortem nominamus; quæ est et ipsa perpetua, sicut et immortalitas. Primam sic definimus; mors est naturæ animantium dissolutio: vel ita; mors est corporis animæque seductio. Secunda vero sic: mors est æterni doloris perpessio. Vel ita: mors est animarum pro meritis ad æterna supplicia damnatio. *Lactant.* l. ii. c. 12. Confer l. vii. c. 10, 11.

Infideles vero in ardenti stagno mittendi sunt; sulphureo fœtore concreto: quæ nuncupatur veracissime mors secunda. *Cassiodorii Complexiones*, p. 228.

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they shall never more affect mankind, being themselves *cast into the lake of fire;—into the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone,* chap. xxi. 8. And *this* (it is expressly said in both places, *this*) *is the second death:* therefore, not any future separation of soul and body; for the very being, power, and principle of death, in that sense, is destroyed; destroyed for ever in the lake of perpetual fire; and hades, as the consequence thereof, is destroyed with it.

Num. LXX.

2 Thess. ii. 3. —*the son of perdition.* See Num. XLVIII.

Num. LXXI.

2 Thess. ii. 10. —*in them that perish.*

N. B. It is plain from the context, (contrary to what has sometimes been inferred from it,) that the terrible punishment here threatened is not any arbitrary act of God's power upon the hearts or understandings of men, deceiving them to their destruction, without any regard to their previous dispositions or conduct; but it is a just judgment, in the natural consequences of things, upon wicked and corrupt men, *who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness. For* this cause *God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned,* (so that they will all be damned,) most justly, for their utter aversion to truth and virtue, wilfully and wickedly contracted by themselves. See Dr. Clarke's excellent Sermon on the words, vol. viii. p. 89.

Num. LXXII.

1 Tim. vi. 9. —*which drown men in destruction and perdition.*

With these words Mr. W. has joined part of the

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19th verse, (translated as he pleases, viz. *that the good may lay hold of* the lasting *life*,) in order to introduce the following remark: "N. B. Since we "still find the opposition between the final state of "the wicked and the righteous to be this, to the "former *utter destruction*, and to the latter a *last-* "*ing life*;" (that is, utter destruction too, though at a vastly greater distance of time;) "it is very hard "that our paraphrases still suppose both to be equally "a lasting life, or duration." P. 43.

The only thing here that looks like an argument is the opposition between the final state of the wicked and the righteous. But this opposition, rightly considered, lies with all its weight against Mr. W.'s hypothesis, instead of serving it. For the final state, or ζωὴ αἰώνιος of the righteous, never means bare existence or duration, (which in itself is neither a punishment nor a reward, but may become the foundation of either,) but happiness, everlasting happiness. The final state therefore of the wicked, so far as this argument of the opposition holds, must be, not nonexistence, or utter cessation of being, but everlasting misery. The truth is, *being* and *not being* are philosophical niceties with which the scripture has no concern. The sanctions of God's laws are rewards and punishments, happiness and misery. Utter destruction puts an end to both, and, as applied in Mr. W.'s scheme to both parties, confounds all our ideas of right and wrong. Whenever it comes, though after millions of millions of ages, it must be a terrible punishment to the blessed in heaven, as it deprives them, not merely of existence, but of supreme felicity; deprives them of it, when, through their long and great improvement in virtue, and high advance-

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ment in virtuous happiness, they best deserve, and most exquisitely enjoy it. On the other hand, to the wicked it will be no punishment, supposing their misery to outbalance their happiness, (as of some, such as Judas, it certainly will,) but rather a favour and indulgence; as it will totally release them from those torments, on the account of which, *it had been good for* them *if* they *had never been born.* But to return to the text before us; one need but read the context, to be satisfied that St. Paul here uses the words ὄλεθρος and ἀπώλεια in the vulgar and moral sense only, for *ruin* and *misery;* not at all in the philosophical sense of annihilation. Take his own words; *They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.* The plain meaning of which, in the mouth of any moralist in the world, would be apprehended to be this, and this only; that they who are resolved *to be rich,* expose themselves to many temptations, and cherish those sinful and destructive affections which in the end will prove their ruin. And the reason is, because *the love of money is the root of all evil;* and men who act upon that principle, in order to gain their ends, will scruple to commit nothing: as some already out of love to this present world, and for filthy lucre sake, have erred from the faith, either apostatized from it, or corrupted it, *and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.* But for the scriptural import

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of the words ὄλεθρος and ἀπώλεια, see more under Num. LIX. and LXIX.

Num. LXXIII.

Heb. vi. 2. —*and of eternal judgment.*

"Lasting judgment," says Mr. W. p. 43. "or ra-"ther of that judgment which is for an age: [both "on good and bad."] I own, I know not what these last words mean, unless, as is usual enough with him, he contradicts himself. In other places[n] he

[n] P. 106. One age only, it seems, is threatened to the wicked; while an unlimited number of the same ages is allotted to the good. P. 134. "The portion of the righteous in heaven is to be "vastly longer in duration than that single age that is allotted for "the punishment of the wicked in hell.—If I should suppose a vast "disproportion between the one and the other, the reader is not to "be surprised at it." And in the next page this vast disproportion is attempted to be fixed; "The punishment of the wicked will be "no greater, as compared with the duration of the happiness of "the good, than two or three are to a thousand." Now how can a man that says this, talk of a judgment for an age, both on good and bad? Perhaps, after all, his meaning is, that the judgment here spoken of, is the general judgment, or relates both to good and bad. But if this be what he would say, it is also what he should have proved; *the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment*, says the apostle. Now as the former of these is frequently used, in the New Testament, in a good sense; so is the other (*judgment*, or *eternal judgment*) used in an ill one. Mark iii. 29. *He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation* (αἰωνίου κρίσεως). In Heb. vi. 2. κρίματος αἰωνίου. N. B. That αἰώνιος signifies *eternal* in the text of St. Mark, see Num. XXIV. John v. 24. —*shall not come into condemnation*, εἰς κρίσιν: ver. 29. —*the resurrection of damnation*, κρίσεως. And in the same sense, *of condemnation*, is κρίσις, and κρίμα, used in many other places. Now if this be the meaning of it in the text before us, the *judgment* spoken of is not the general judgment on both good and bad, but the *eternal judgment* on the latter only.

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supposes the judgment, or the retribution consequent to the judgment, (on the account of which the judgment is here called αἰώνιος,) with regard to the good, to be of vastly longer duration than the punishment of the wicked; and yet here the judgment is but "for an age," it seems, "both on good and bad." And so far he is in the right, the judgment on both is of equal duration, whether that be an age or eternity. That it will not be the latter, at least as to the bad, he thinks is plain from the next testimony in this same chapter; to which we now follow him.

Num. LXXIV.

Heb. vi. 8. *But that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned.*

—"Not kept like iron, or the like metals melted, "in the furnace of fire, and there abiding; but "like *briers and thorns*, which are always utterly "dissolved and consumed by the fire." P. 44.

What an instance have we here of his care, (shall I say?) or his criticism! It is plain he took the words, *whose end is to be burned*, to relate to the *thorns and briers:* and so, because "thorns and briers "are," as he says, "utterly dissolved and consumed "by the fire," it is to be inferred, that the wicked will be so too. Which, by the bye, is no consequence, though the construction of the words were as he supposes. Arguments taken from allusions and comparisons hold only in the main point and design of them, and no further. And the stress of the comparison here does not lie in the circumstance of the thorns and briers being utterly consumed by the fire, but in their being *rejected* and *burned;*

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(whether to utter consumption, or otherwise;) so the wicked will be *rejected*, and their end likewise *is to be burned;* but whether to utter extinction of being, this text says nothing, and the very nature of the thing reclaims. But, as I intimated at first, the *burning* here does not relate to the *thorns and briers*, but to *the earth which beareth* them. The *earth*, ver. 7. *which bringeth forth herbs*, is blessed; *but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing*, ἧς τὸ τέλος εἰς καῦσιν, *whose end* (or the end of which earth) *is to be burned.*

Num. LXXV.

Heb. ix. 27. *—it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.*

N. B. Mr. W. has two deaths; for after the resurrection and the judgment, the wicked are to be burnt to death, or eaten to death by worms; and the soul, thus separated from the body a second time, remains capable of another resurrection. After which, I presume, there must be another judgment; unless God finally disposes of these creatures without any regard to their moral character and behaviour; contrary to every perfection of his nature, and to all the reasons of things.

Num. LXXVI.

Heb. x. 27. *But a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.*

By which is not meant totally consume them; the word does not imply [o], nor will the context ad-

[o] Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν φαγεῖν μέλλων, ἀλλ', ἐσθίειν, ἀϊδίως δηλαδή. Theoph. in loc.

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mit of it. Here are strong expressions to the contrary, which shew the apostle had quite other ideas in his head, than that of annihilation. Φοβερὰ δέ τις ἐκδοχὴ κρίσεως, καὶ πυρὸς ζῆλος;—Πόσῳ (δοκεῖτε) χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας;—Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω;—Κύριος κρινεῖ,—Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Num. LXXVIII.

Heb. x. 39. —*who draw back unto perdition.*

Explained by the opposition, *the saving of the soul.* Περιποίησις ψυχῆς est quod κτᾶσθαι ψυχὴν dicitur Luc. xxi. 19. εὑρίσκειν, Matt. xvi. 25. σώζειν, Marc. viii. 35. Luc. ix. 24. φυλάσσειν, Joh. xii. 25. Grotius in Poole.

Num. LXXIX.

Heb. xii. 29. *For our God is a consuming fire.*

"In the same sense," says Mr. W. p. 44. "with "the foregoing." That is, with chap. vi. 8. the text in his book immediately before this; and the sense of which he mistook. See Num. LXXIV. The sense of the text before us may be collected from what is said under Num. LXXVI. It is κρίσις, τιμωρία, ἐκδίκησις, *judgment, punishment, vengeance*; not annihilation: a ridiculous motive for an apostle to urge, in order to induce men *to serve God with reverence and godly fear.*

Num. LXXX.

James i. 15. —*sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death.* See Num. LVII.

Num. LXXXI.

James iv. 12. —*who is able to save and to destroy* [p].

Able indeed, in the natural sense, *to save*, or pre-

[p] Ver. 11. *He that speaketh evil of his brother, and judgeth his brother*, (possibly, for using his Christian liberty in things indif-

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serve in being, or *to destroy* that being; but meant here only in the moral. As is also the next passage to be quoted; viz.

Num. LXXXII.

James v. 20. —*he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.*

Num. LXXXIII.

1 Pet. iii. 18, 19, 20, and chap. iv. 6. These being the texts of the New Testament, on which Mr. Whiston grounds his doctrine of *preaching, and repentance in hades*, I reserve them, till I come particularly to consider that point. A point, the more needful to be considered, as it is not a mere speculation, but of great practical importance. For if men once begin to depend on I know not what preaching and repentance after death, all the arguments of preachers here to bring them to repentance before it, will avail little. It is, however, to be remembered, that be this matter determined as it will, the argument for the eternity of punishments after the judgment, when hades itself is over, stands as it did before.

Num. LXXXIV.

2 Pet. ii. 1. —*who privily shall bring in damnable heresies,* (αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας,) *even denying the Lord that bought*

ferent and innocent,) *speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law,* (as if it were deficient, and blameable for allowing men such liberty:) *but if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge:* which is absurd behaviour, and acting contrary to the truth of the case. *There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy,* (whose sentence alone is decisive, and by whose determination we must stand or fall:) *who art thou that judgest another?*

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them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction (ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν).

Whatever *destruction* be here intended, whether in *this world*, as the destruction then impending on the Jewish nation, or in *the world to come*, it cannot possibly, in either case, mean annihilation. Not in the former, it is plain, since no temporal destruction extends to utter extinction of being, but still leaves the wicked to be *reserved unto the day of judgment to be punished*, ver. 9. Not in the latter; because then by threatening *swift destruction*, instead of giving an edge to his threatening, the apostle disarms it of all its terror. To men in misery, the swifter annihilation is, the better. It deprives them of all sense of pain, and lays them down in utter insensibility. I may only observe further, that the apostle speaks here, as if he thought that some doctrines, as well as practices, are *damnable*.

Num. LXXXV.

2 Pet. ii. 3. —*whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not.*

Their damnation, ἡ ἀπώλεια αὐτῶν; the same word which in ver. 1. is rendered *destruction*: and as there it is called *swift destruction*, so here it is said *not to slumber*: and *whose judgment*, τὸ κρῖμα, *lingereth not*. It is plain the same *destruction*, *judgment*, *damnation*, is meant in both places; and for the same reason it cannot be annihilation.

Num. LXXXVI.

2 Pet. ii. 4. —*God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.*

Hell here does not mean *gehenna*; for these sin-

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ning angels are, as yet, only *reserved unto judgment;* therefore not judged already; nor, consequently, consigned over to that place of punishment which awaits them after the *judgment.* But they are *cast down* from those bright regions, which were τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, *their own* proper *habitation,* into *the darkness of this world,* Ephes. vi. 12. and kept *in chains of darkness,* (though with liberty to go *about, seeking whom they may devour,* 1 Peter v. 8.) *unto the judgment of the great day,* Jude 6. For the import and propriety of the word ταρταρώσας, see *Windet de Vita Functorum Statu,* sect. xiii. which he thus concludes [q];—"Dicendum ergo an-"gelos prævaricatores a luculenta illa regione, quam "pridem incolebant, exulare: detinerique in ob-"scuro caliginosoque atmosphærio, perinde ac male-"fici in carcere vinculis constricti: quoad post ulti-"mum judicium, fatalis illa hujusce mundi confla-"gratio cesserit: quæ illos simul cum impiis homi-"nibus horribili ruina pessunditos æternum cruci-"abit." Compare Dr. Thomas Smith's Comment. in loc.

Num. LXXXVII.

2 Peter ii. 9. —*to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished.*

They are reserved to the same time, and to the same condemnation, with the angels in the preceding article: *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels,*

[q] See Mr. Mede's Works, p. 31. who would have ταρταρώσας rendered, not *cast down to hell,* as if it were done already; but, having *adjudged them to hell torments, he delivered them to be kept,* or *reserved,* for *chains of darkness at the day of judgment:* or, ταρταρώσας, *casting down to hellward.*

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Matt. xxv. 41. Yet Mr. W. says, "this text contains nothing that relates to the duration of the "torments of hell." (p. 46.) The text by itself implies this, that their state, after the day of judgment, will be a state of punishment, not of insensibility; and, compared with other texts, it appears this state of punishment will be eternal: see Num. XXII. What he further says, about the time when the wicked are to be cast into hell, viz. *not till the day of judgment*, is very true, and contradicted now by none, that I know of, unless it be himself. He has something in this very book, which a great genius perhaps may reconcile; but to meaner mortals it looks very like a contradiction. Take his own words, p. 85.—"We may here take notice of a very "remarkable point of doctrine, with relation to "the nature and duration of hell torments; which "though implied by many ancienter authors before, "yet is here (viz. in Tertullian) plainer than in any "of the rest, viz. that this unquenchable fire is to "arise from our own earth, in its present state; "and to burn up the wicked while it is such an "earth, and no longer. So that unless this first "earth be to last as long as its Creator lasts; and "there is never to be a new earth at all; at least "unless this first earth be never to flee away, so "that no place be found for it; both which events "yet St. John assures us are to come to pass before "the resurrection, and the end of the general judgment; the duration of torments arising from this "first earth cannot be properly eternal, or coeternal "with its Creator."

I have read this passage over several times, and it appears to me to say plainly, that the wicked will

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be cast into hell *before* the day of judgment. For if "this unquenchable fire is to arise from our own "earth, in its present state;" and not only so, but also "to burn up the wicked while it is such an "earth, and no longer;" and if "this earth be to "flee away, so that no place be found for it;" and there is "to be a new earth, before the resurrection, "and the end of the general judgment:" the consequence, I think, must be, that the wicked must be cast into hell *before* these grand events, *the resurrection* and *the judgment*, or not at all. They cannot be cast into it *after* them; for this hell is to be "our own earth," and to continue only "while it is "such an earth, and no longer;" but this earth is "to flee away," and there is "to be a new earth, be-"fore the resurrection, and the end of the general "judgment." What he means by *the end* of the general judgment, I do not perhaps comprehend; but it is no matter. The resurrection will be prior to the judgment; for men will not be judged till they are raised again; (as he himself contends, p. 109;) and therefore if they are cast into hell before the resurrection, as his reasoning above implies, they are cast into it also before the judgment.

Again, how does the paragraph just recited agree with some other of his opinions? According to the principles laid down in his Theory, the general conflagration is not to extend to the dissolution or destruction of the earth, but only to the alteration and melioration of it; that it may be proper to receive those saints, who, at the first resurrection are to enter, live, and reign a thousand years upon it. When these are completed, comes the second resurrection, the general judgment, and the final con-

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summation of all things. And then the "earth will "desert its present seat and station in the world, and "be no longer found among the planetary chorus;" that is, it will become a comet. Now, it is in the last of these periods, when the earth is become a comet, that it is, if ever, to be the place of the punishment of the wicked; according to Mr. W, himself, both in his Astronomical Principles of Religion [r], and in this book on Hell Torments. How then can this be "before the resurrection," and while our earth continues "such an earth, and no longer?" I will only add, that St. John does by no means "assure us," as he affirms, "that this earth will flee "away," and that there will be "a new earth, be"fore the resurrection." The thing is absurd in itself; and St. John plainly relates the resurrection, and the general judgment, as antecedent in order of time, before he *saw the new heaven and the new earth*, Apoc. xx. 12, 13. xxi. 1. It is true, he mentions the fleeing away of the earth and the heaven, before the resurrection and the judgment; but that does not imply that that event will really come to pass before them. On the contrary, it is evident, ver. 13. that the old earth remains still; for *the sea gives up the dead which were in it; and death and hades deliver up their dead*, and are themselves *cast into the lake of fire*, and all the wicked with them: and then appears the *new heaven* and the *new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were* then really *passed away; and there was no more sea*. So that though St. John tells us, chap. xx. 11. that *the earth and heaven fled away, from*

[r] Astronom. Prin. p. 156. on Hell Torments, p. 110.

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the face of him that sat on the throne; yet that cannot be understood as done immediately, but *after* the resurrection, when the sea and the grave had delivered up their dead, and they were judged. Then it is that "the earth will desert its present "seat and station in the world, and be no longer "found among the planetary chorus." And to "this "consummation of all things, when a final period is "to be put to the present place and use of this "earth, with its atmosphere," does Mr. W. himself refer St. John's words, chap. xx. 11. in his Astronomical Principles of Religion, p. 153. and in his Theory, book iii. chap. 5. at the end.

Num. LXXXVIII.

2 Peter ii. 12. —*made to be taken and destroyed,—and shall utterly perish in their own corruption.*

The parallel place in St. Jude is ver. 10.—*what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves;* spoken plainly of moral corruption; but for which, at last, they *shall receive the reward of unrighteousness.*

Num. LXXXIX.

2 Peter ii. 17. —*to whom the mist of darkness is reserved for ever.* See Num. XCIV.

Num. XC.

2 Peter iii. 7. *But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.*

"This text," Mr. W. says, p. 46. "agrees with "the foregoing, (viz. Num. LXXXVII.) as to the "time when the positive punishments of the wicked

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" in hell are to begin, viz. at the day of judgment; " and with many of the foregoing, in determining " that punishment, to be not a continuation of their " lives in misery for infinite ages, but as ending in " their utter destruction and perdition."

Neither this text, nor any of the foregoing, determine what Mr. W. here asserts. The only shadow of an argument, to this purpose, arises from a word or two, which in scripture and moral discourses means quite another thing. In the sixth verse we are told, that *the old world, being overflowed with water, perished* (ἀπώλετο); yet that perishing did not extend to utter destruction, or annihilation; but only to a great and general change in *the world that then was.* And as the world once perished by water, so it must by fire at the conclusion of its present state. (See Mr. Whiston's Theory, book iii. chap. 5. book iv. chap. 5.) " Yet this second *perish-* " *ing* will not extend," Mr. W. tells us, " to the en- " tire dissolution or destruction of the earth, but only " to the alteration, melioration, and peculiar disposi- " tion thereof into a new state." (Theory, towards the end.) Why then must the word *perdition*, ἀπωλεία, as applied in the 7th verse to *ungodly men*, be understood of utter destruction of being? especially, since we know from philosophy, that fire cannot annihilate them; and from scripture, that this *day* of their judgment, and of their perdition, is so far from being the day of their annihilation, that it is the day when they will be sent *into everlasting punishment.*

Num. XCI.

2 Peter iii. 9. —*not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.*

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Num. XCII.

2 Peter iii. 16. *—which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest—unto their own destruction.*

Compare Num. LIX. LXXXIV. LXXXV. XC.

Num. XCIII.

1 John v. 16. *If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it.*

A sin unto death, ἁμαρτία πρὸς θάνατον, is the same sort of phrase which this apostle uses in his Gospel, chap. xi. 4. *This sickness is not unto death*, πρὸς θάνατον. So that a sickness unto death, and a sin unto death, means, each in its respective way, something absolutely fatal; when no medicines would avail in one case, nor prayers in the other: not meaning the prayers, accompanied with the repentance, of the offender himself; for the *sin unto death* implies final impenitence; whether that sin be a habit of any sin persisted in to the last, or any particular sin, such as the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or apostasy from Christ, or the like; about which the best interpreters are not agreed. It appears from Hermas, that the phrase was usual in his and the apostles' days; and therefore the nature of this sin was then, no doubt, well understood. And to speak my sentiments, it seems clearly to me to mean, not a habit of any sin, (though that, finally persisted in, will prove fatal,) but the particular sin of renouncing Christianity, and blaspheming its divine Author; which too being done, not only after the performance of his own miracles, but those also of his apostles, *with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven*, is in effect

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the same with the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. "Some of these," says the angel to Hermas, "are corrupted unto death," *usque ad mortem*; "others to a defection, or falling "away," *usque ad defectionem*. Hermas here acquainting him that he did not understand the distinction; "Hear then," says his instructor; "The "sheep which thou sawest exceeding joyful are "such as have for ever departed from God, and "given themselves up to the lust of this present "time. To these therefore there is no return by "repentance unto life;" (why so? since the others who were fallen away had also "given themselves "up," he tells us, "to pleasures and delights;" and yet there was "hope laid up for them in repent-"ance;" but the reason of this difference immediately follows,—"To these therefore there is no return, by "repentance unto life;) *because that to their other "sins they have added this*, that they *have blas-"phemed the name of the Lord.* [s] These kind of "men are ordained unto death." Here is, if I mistake not, St. John's *sin unto death*; as well as St. Paul's *wilful sin after we have received the knowledge of the truth*, Heb. x. 26, 27. It is ridiculous to quote Hermas, as if he meant by death any thing like annihilation. "They that are dead are utterly "gone for ever [t]." (See Mr. W. p. 52.) Does not every one see, by the whole tenour of his discourse, that he here means gone beyond recovery? beyond all return, by repentance unto life? beyond

[s] The life of such men is death. *Gr.*

[t] Ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. The meaning is, the consequence of such a death (as he calls the life of such men) is what the scripture calls *everlasting destruction*.

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all hopes, and all possibility of pardon? On the other hand, they who were corrupted only to "a de- "fection, or falling away," had "hope laid up for "them in repentance." *Defectio enim habet spem aliquam redintegrationis; mors vero perpetuo tenetur interitu.* Her. Past. lib. iii. simil. 6.

Num. XCIV.

Jude 6, 7, 13. *And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire—to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.*

These three verses Mr. W. quotes together, and his reflections upon them are as follow: "They "are," he says, "exceeding remarkable, and inform "us plainly of two things of the greatest conse- "quence in our present inquiry, viz. (1.) That the "word ἀΐδιος, which is generally supposed to be much "more expressive of a proper eternity than αἰώνιος, "is yet used for a time limited, or for the duration "of the age or ages, till the day of judgment, and "no longer. (2.) That the conflagration of Sodom "and Gomorrha, and the cities about them, because "it utterly destroyed them, is styled *the vengeance* "πυρὸς αἰωνίου, of *lasting*, or, as we render it, *ever-* "*lasting fire*: although such fire or conflagration "were quite over in no very long time, and burned "no longer than the utter destruction of those cities "required. These verses are therefore the proper "key of such language in the rest of the holy scrip-

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" tures; and a more authentic and satisfactory key " they are, than all the schoolmen and critics of " modern ages can afford us." P. 47.

In the first of these observations it is affirmed, or implied, 1. that ἀΐδιος is more expressive of a proper eternity than αἰώνιος, and, 2. that it is used here for a limited time. Now supposing both these things to be true, what is the consequence? certainly this only, that αἰώνιος also may be used for a time limited; not that it always actually is so; which we know is contrary to truth and fact. Without entering into the comparative strength and value of the words, it is undeniable that they are both expressive of a proper eternity; and, unless we will deal arbitrarily with them, ought to be so understood, where the sense of the context, or the subject of the writer, does not limit them. The word ἀΐδιος in the passage before us is thus limited, according to Mr. W., by the sense; as these *chains* are but to last *till the day of judgment:* otherwise, it would denote eternity. And so it is with αἰώνιος: when it is spoken of any thing that must end *before*, or *at*, the day of judgment, it is there plainly confined, by the sense, to a limited time: but what is this to the signification of the same word, when it is not so confined? as it plainly is not, when it is applied (and it is applied equally) to the rewards and punishments of heaven and hell. But, 2. How does it appear that the word ἀΐδιος is here used for a limited time? is it any consequence, that, because these angels *are reserved in chains unto the judgment of the great day*, therefore the *chains* will not be *everlasting?* What should ail them [u]?

[u] Or take Mr. Mede's opinion, that σειραῖς in the parallel place of St. Peter, (Num. LXXXVI.) and δεσμοῖς here, are put for ἁλ

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Are the devils then to be set at liberty, or confined more closely? if the latter, why may not the *chains* be *everlasting*? And what are these *chains*? "Me- "taphorice significant Dei potentiam, qua, tanquam "vinculis quibusdam æternis, id est, nunquam sol- "vendis, eos constringit ac detinet, ne liberi feran- "tur quo volunt," says Estius on the place. If then Mr. W.'s premises be false, what becomes of his conclusion? or granting *one* of them, viz. the superior claim of ἀΐδιος, the other, αἰώνιος, still keeps its ground, and is just where it was before: for ἀΐδιος here signifies *everlasting*, and is a strong proof of the eternity of the punishment of the *Devil and his angels*. "Cum perpetuorum vinculorum heic men- "tio fiat una cum imminente die judicii, recte hinc "theologi conficiunt, malis geniis nullam redempti- "onis spem superesse." *Wolfii Curæ Phil. et Crit.*

Mr. W.'s second observation, which is on ver. 7. asserts, or implies, these three things; 1. That the fire of *Sodom and Gomorrha* is here styled *the vengeance*, πυρὸς αἰωνίου, as we render it, *of eternal fire*. 2. That it is so styled for this reason, "be- "cause it utterly destroyed them." 3. That this fire was "quite over in no very long time, and burned "no longer than the utter destruction of those cities "required."

Now, as Mr. W. lays so great a stress on these verses, as to make them "the key of such language "in the rest of the holy scriptures; a more authentic "and satisfactory key, than all the schoolmen and cri-

σειρὰς, and εἰς δεσμοὺς, and then the construction will be, not that the evil angels were now already delivered to *chains of darkness*, or *everlasting chains*, but reserved *for them* at the day of judgment. *Works*, p. 31.

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" tics can afford;" these particulars, as well as those under the former article, none of which are at least self-evidently true, ought to have been clearly proved. But no proof is attempted; we have Mr. Whiston's bare assertions; of which one is, that the fire of *Sodom and Gomorrha* is here styled *the vengeance*, πυρὸς αἰωνίου. But had he not too much despised the critics to have consulted them, he would have found that this point is far from being certain. Some of them join the words πυρὸς αἰωνίου with δεῖγμα, not δίκην, and so make the version thus; *are set forth for example of eternal fire, suffering punishment*, or *vengeance*. And so Cassiodorus, no modern, but an ancient critic, seems plainly to understand it: " So- " domam quoque, et Gomorram, et finitimas civita- " tes, quæ graviter deliquerunt, obscena carnis vitia " diligentes, consumptas perhibet, in exemplo ignis " æterni." But, should this sense be rejected, there is another, approved by no less men than Grotius, and Mede[x], and Wall; and that is, that πυρὸς αἰωνίου δίκην ὑπέχουσαι, or ὑπερέχουσαι, should be rendered, *suffering a resemblance of eternal fire*; as ποταμοῦ δίκην, *like a river*, &c. I will mention no more interpretations, which, however, might easily be done; as all interpreters have been sensible that αἰώνιον πῦρ, in all other places of the New Testament, means the *fire of hell*, it was not very natural for them to suppose that St. Jude uses it of *the fire of Sodom and Gomorrha*. But be it for once that he does; why should the pompous style of St. Jude, whose bold oriental figures and phrases are copied from some ancienter Jewish writer, and perhaps in this very

[x] Mede's Works, p. 1118. Wall's Annot. p. 367.

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particular[y], be made the key to the language of the rest of the New Testament? the plain correct language, for instance, of our Saviour himself in Matt. xxv. 41, 46. where he declares what will be the sentence at the last day on incorrigibly wicked men, and the consequence of that sentence, in the plainest and most positive terms. Surely there is no reason or consequence in saying, that because αἰώνιον is applied by a pompous figurative writer to the fire of *Sodom*, and must then necessarily be taken in a limited sense; therefore it must always be taken in such a sense, when applied by our Lord himself to the *fire of hell*, declared by his own repeated asseverations to be *unquenchable*.

Mr. W.'s next assertion is, that this fire of *Sodom and Gomorrha* is styled αἰώνιον for this reason, "because it utterly destroyed them." And may every fire then, that utterly destroys its subject, be so styled, how short a time soever it lasts? I should rather think that αἰώνιον expresses some considerable duration, either lasting or everlasting; and that it does so here, supposing it to relate to the fire of *Sodom*, we have good reason to conclude from all antiquity, sacred and profane. For in the next place, which is contrary to Mr. W.'s third assertion, it is not true that the fire was "quite over in no very "long time, and burned no longer than the utter "destruction of those cities required." It appears from the authorities collected by many learned men[z],

[y] See bishop Sherlock's Dissertation on the Authority of the second Epistle of St. Peter.

[z] Grotius De Verit. Rel. Christ. lib. i. sect. 16. Revelation examined with Candour, vol. ii. dis. 6. Saurin's Dissertations on the Books of Moses, English edit. p. 155.

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that the fire was not quite over in many ages; not in St. Jude's own time, as may be fairly inferred from Strabo and Philo the Jew, who were contemporaries with him, or very little before him. But what need of other witnesses, when it is plain that St. Jude himself speaks of it as not quite over, but still enduring[a]? For this reason therefore he calls it, if he does call it, πῦρ αἰώνιον, because it had lasted for above two thousand years.

Mr. W. makes no remark on ver. 13, but only renders εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, as usual, *for an age: to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for an age.* This *blackness of darkness*, according to him, (see Num. IX.) is not in gehenna, but in hades. And then indeed it will not endure *for ever*; though it may be of a much longer duration than one of Mr. W.'s ages. But who are they, whom the apostle threatens with this *blackness of darkness* in hades? the curable, or the incurable part of mankind? The curable part, Mr. W. tells us, (see Num. III.) are to be corrected by the "eruption of the fire, or "flame of gehenna," into such parts of hades as they are forced into, before the day of judgment. This *blackness of darkness* therefore can be no description of their state and condition; for "we have no

[a] See Dr. Hammond on the place. He understands by *Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them*, not the walls and buildings, but the inhabitants of those cities; and agreeably, the *fire they suffer*, is the *eternal fire* of *hell*. But this opinion has its difficulties, which cannot well be removed. However, it shews how sensible that learned writer was, that St. Jude speaks of this fire as then subsisting.

Dicitur αἰώνιος ignis qui per tot secula ex bituminosa materia arsit, et forte etiamnum ardet. *J. Clerici Dissert. de Sodomæ &c. Subversione.*

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" notion of fire and flame without light, though it " be never so dismal." Instead of *blackness of darkness*, the apostle should have threatened such as these with the eruption of *flaming fire*. And as to the incurable, it seems utterly incredible that he should threaten them with punishments in hades, rather than with those into which they are to depart at the day of judgment. They are to have no " posi- " tive torments inflicted on them in hades;" (see Mr. W.'s book, p. 120.) no punishment, but what arises from within, from their own consciences, *and fearful expectations*. The proper punishment reserved for them is in gehenna; and this therefore, no doubt, it is, that St. Jude here denounces against them. So that there being nothing here, in the sense or context, to limit the meaning of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, that phrase ought in all reason to be understood in its most extensive sense, agreeably to the other declarations of scripture relating to this matter. I will only add here to what I have observed in other places, that though *Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years*, Gen. v. 5. which is several of Mr. W.'s ages, yet he did not live εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, but was driven from the *tree of life*, lest he should eat, and live *for ever*. See Gen. iii. 22.

Num. XCV.

Apoc. xiv. 10, 11. *The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:* and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever:—(εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων.)

Mr. W. has several expedients to prevent this passage from hurting his hypothesis. First, he ob-

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serves, that "these are the first places we have met "with, relating, as is supposed, to the torments of "hell, which mention αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων, *ages of ages;* "or even barely αἰῶνες, [or *ages*, in the plural num- "ber:] i. e. several of such ages succeeding one "another." P. 48.

Now all that there is in this matter, I conceive, is this. The other New Testament writers express the duration both of happiness in heaven, and punishment in hell, generally, if not always, by εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, or the like, in the singular number. St. John in his Revelation raises his style; and as he uses the plural, and its reduplication, (αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων,) with regard to the kingdom of heaven, so he does likewise with reference to the torments of hell. So that as far as the mere terms are concerned, we have all the reason in the world to think that the two states will be of equal duration. Well, but "the "phrases are very far from denoting a proper eter- "nity." If he means that they *never* denote a proper eternity, (*a parte post*,) the assertion is evidently false. Even the phrase in the singular number does so, in numberless places. If he means that they don't denote a proper eternity in these places, it is, to say no more of it at present, begging the question. Next he offers a "conjecture, that the *smoke* "of such their torment may ascend up *in terrorem*, "longer than the torments themselves of particu- "lar offenders continue; and that the *fire* and the "*smoke*, thereto belonging, may be the common "place of torment for sinners, in different ages and "periods of the world, one after another." It is not worth while to ask, What ages and periods, and of what world, since this world will be ended? The

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conjecture is of no more weight than a dream; and, if he had attended to his own texts, he would have seen there is no room for it. The context plainly supposes that these particular offenders themselves still exist in these torments:—*the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night.*—We readily admit, nay we contend for the observation he quotes from sir Isaac Newton, "that the degree and duration of "the torments of these degenerate and antichristian "people will be no other, than what will be ap- "proved of by those angels who had ever laboured for "their salvation, and that Lamb who had redeemed "them with his own most precious blood." This is the great aggravation of their guilt; and renders them *worthy of much sorer punishment;* because they had *trodden under foot the Son of God, and* had *counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith* they were *sanctified, an unholy thing, and* had *done despite unto the Spirit of grace,* Heb. x. 29. Surely the Lamb who adjudges them to these torments will approve both of their degree and duration; and the holy angels will not only approve, but applaud his justice. Mr. W. next intimates, that he is not "yet fully satisfied that these words relate to "the torments of hell [b]." "They belong to the wor-

[b] Dr. Clarke understands them of the torments of hell, and makes a remark upon them to the same purpose with sir Isaac Newton's. "Our Saviour himself, *who loved us,* &c. even he "shall say, to those who impenitently reject his gracious offers of "life, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared* "*for the Devil and his angels,* Matt. xxv. 41. And *in the presence* "*of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb,* who as- "suredly can take no pleasure in beholding any punishment but

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" shippers of the antichristian beast only.—They are " very much the same with those, Isaiah xxxiv. 9, " 10. already set down, p. 25. *prius*,—they may be " thought directly parallel to them, and to belong to " the vengeance to be taken on the enemies of God's " people at the battle of Harmageddon only. Which " surely is to be upon this earth, and not in ge- " henna, or hell. I determine nothing, till some fur- " ther light appear; as it will presently." (P. 49.) This light appears to him in the very next page; where he owns, notwithstanding what he here says, (that this " vengeance to be taken on the enemies of " God's people, is to be upon this earth, and not in " gehenna, or hell,") notwithstanding this, I say, he owns, that " whatever preludes to this dreadful pu- " nishment there may be upon this earth, at the " coming on of this fire and brimstone, at the great " day; yet will the upshot of all be no other than " the fire of gehenna, or hell;—and that Gog and " Magog (the enemies of God's people perhaps at " the battle of Harmageddon [c]) shall be tormented " there." But of this in its proper place. See Num. XCVIII.

" what is necessary, *shall they be tormented with fire and brim-* " *stone*, Rev. xiv. 10." Sermons, vol. x. p. 356, 357.

So also St. Cyprian,—" In Apocalypsi quoque legimus," &c. And then reciting the words, concluding with those in the eleventh verse,—*Nec habebunt requiem die ac nocte, qui adorant bestiam et imaginem ejus*; he adds, " Cum ergo hæc tormenta, " hæc supplicia *in die judicii* Dominus comminetur iis qui Diabolo " obtemperant, et idolis sacrificant; quo modo se putat," &c. Epist. p. 162. ed. Fell.

[c] See Dr. Burnet de Futura Judæorum Restaurat. p. 380, 381.

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Num. XCVI.

Apoc. xix. 3. —*And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.* [Mr. Whiston: *Babylon's smoke rose up, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, for ages of ages,* p. 48.]

The smoke of a city cannot be supposed to rise up for *ever and ever*. But that is not the thing intended: the thing intended is, that God had now *judged the great whore*, or the mystical Babylon, and destroyed her so totally and finally that she should never be restored: her destruction should be, not merely for ages of ages, but *for ever and ever*. The phrase, *her smoke rose up*, &c. is a strong prophetical manner of representing an *everlasting* destruction of the city or kingdom it is applied to. There is no reason therefore to limit the words as Mr. W. has done.

Num. XCVII.

Apoc. xix. 20. —*These both* (viz. the *beast* and the *false prophet*) *were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.* See Num. XXVII. and that which here follows.

Num. XCVIII.

Apoc. xx. 10. *And the Devil that deceived them* (viz. Gog and Magog) *was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*

"These two additional texts," Mr. W. says, "are "evidently of the same sort with the foregoing, and "so stand in need of little additional observation." (P. 50.) If he means by "the same sort," that they relate to the same subject with the foregoing, (viz. Num. XCV. XCVI.) then, as he allows these to relate to the punishment of the wicked in gehenna, he must consequently allow the foregoing to do so too.

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And how then can he say, as he does in this same page, "that excepting this single place, the dura- "tion of the punishment of the wicked is never pro- "perly said to be for more than τὸν αἰῶνα, or *an age*, "a single age, in all the books of the Old and New "Testament?" And if these additional texts do not relate to the same subject with the foregoing, they may possibly stand in need of some additional observation. But he wants to be rid of them; they lie heavy upon his hypothesis, and, like a millstone about his neck, will sink it. But let us attend to the additional observation he is pleased to make:— "Only," continues he, "since the place of gehenna, "or hell itself, is said to be *prepared for the Devil* "*and his angels*, Matt. xxv. 41. and the same "Devil is here said to be *cast into this lake of fire*, "this makes it not a little probable," (I wonder what would make it certain,) "that whatever preludes to "this dreadful punishment there may be upon this "earth, at the coming on of this fire and brimstone "at the great day; yet will the upshot of all be no "other than the fire of gehenna, or hell, for ages of "ages afterward." But he has forgot to produce the passages in St. John's Revelation, where αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων signifies only *ages of ages*, or any thing less than *for ever and ever*. That phrase is used fourteen times in the Apocalypse; and never, as far as appears, in any other sense than that of eternity. In far the greatest number of the passages it evidently must have that meaning; and therefore in the other two or three places under debate, unless the subject plainly requires another sense, to give it a different meaning is to destroy the use of language, and render the meaning of words perfectly

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arbitrary. And that the subject does not require a different sense of the words in the controverted texts, will appear, I trust, in the course of these papers. If hell torments cannot, absolutely cannot, in the nature of things, be eternal, why then indeed this phrase, in these places, must denote only a temporary duration: but if this cannot be proved, if the contrary can, I would ask what reason any man has to limit the sense of the words in these few passages, contrary to their import in all the rest? Let us not make a *nose of wax* of the scripture; let its uniform language have some determinate sense. Mr. W. goes on; "It deserves our remark, that it is "not directly said here, that the *beast and the false* "*prophet*, but only the Devil, with *Gog and Magog*, "shall be so long tormented there." Now, not to take notice of the reading of this text in some versions, which is quite inconsistent with this remark, I would only ask why βασανισθήσονται (being in the plural) should not include the *beast and the false prophet*, as well as the Devil, and those he had *deceived?* and as to the reason of the thing, why should the *beast and the false prophet* come off better than *Gog and Magog?* The text says they were *deceived;* and therefore Mr. W. might, if he had been so disposed, have applied his apology to them, which he makes for other wicked men, p. 19. "They fell into their sins by the secret snares of the "Devil, and other violent temptations:" so that if this be any excuse, I don't see why *Gog and Magog* should not have the benefit of it. "But they "are," he says, "a people utterly unknown to us, "and not perhaps to be heard of till after the mil-"lennium is over." And again, p. 104. "an un-

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"known wicked people after the millennium is "over[d]." Now what a beggarly refuge is this! what is it to the purpose, whether these people are known or unknown, whether they live before the millennium, or after it? still they are God's creatures, and will have as fair and impartial a trial, at the last great day, as we ourselves shall have. And therefore, if they may finally miscarry, and be *tormented for ever and ever*, the consequence is easy; *Let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall.* As to what Mr. W. asserts, "that, excepting this

[d] The gentlemen who with Mr. W. place this battle of Gog and Magog after the millennium, are reduced to great difficulties to account for the origin of this wicked people, and to tell us from whence they come. If they be any race of mortals that inhabit the present earth, the question is, how they happened to survive the conflagration? Dr. Burnet therefore, very philosopher-like, generates them anew "from the slime of the ground, and the "heat of the sun." (Theory, book iv. chap. 10.) But this is too gross to pass. Others suppose that the Gentiles, to whom the gospel was not preached before, shall be raised from the dead during the millennium; and the gospel being then communicated to them by some preachers sent out of the new Jerusalem, they who reject it will at last compose this wicked army of Gog and Magog. It is not pretended that the scripture gives any countenance to this conjecture. On the contrary, some reasons are offered for the silence of scripture on this head. But the misfortune is, the scripture is not so silent in the case as is supposed; but has rather determined on the other side. St. Paul plainly teaches, Rom. chap. ii. that as the Gentiles had a law, though not a written one, so they shall be judged by that law at the great day. And when St. John has told us that the martyrs and saints shall live in the millennium, and *reign with Christ a thousand years*, Apoc. xx. 4. he adds expressly in the next verse, that *the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished.* See the preface to Mr. Johnson's Select Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, printed 1740.

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" single place," the duration of future punishment is never said to be for more than " a single age," (p. 50, and 104,) some notice has been taken of it already; compare Num. XCV. It has not, he supposes, been observed by any commentator before him; and will not, I believe, in haste by any commentator after him.

Num. XCIX.

Apoc. xx. 14, 15. *And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.* Chap. xxi. 8. *But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.*

I have already in several places obviated what Mr. W, suggests under these texts, p. 51, 52. about *death*, the *second death*, and the like. " The state " of the worst sort of sinners," he says, " that are in- " corrigible, is never once styled *life* at all." And it would be strange if it should; since *life* in the gospel dialect denotes that happy immortality which is the reward of the righteous. In opposition to this ζωὴ αἰώνιος, *everlasting life*, and σωτηρία αἰώνιος, *eternal salvation*, the final state of the wicked, that are incorrigible, is styled *death*. And what sort of *death* that is, the very opposition shews. See Num. LXXII. Besides, the other descriptions of it in the New Testament explain the true notion of it; such as πῦρ αἰώνιον, κόλασις αἰώνιος, κρίσις αἰώνιος, κρίμα αἰώνιον, ἐκδίκησις, τιμωρία: which certainly point out a state, not of insensibility, but of sensation and punishment. As to our Saviour's words, referred to by Mr. W. see Num. X.; though he refers to them here as declar-

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ing for "the utter dissolution or destruction both of "body and soul," yet he owns there that they say no such thing; but leave "room for hope that the soul "may remain capable of a second resurrection, after "the second death is over." Thus he talks backwards and forwards, without any consistent principles; sometimes in the hypothesis of a restoration, and sometimes in that of annihilation; inferring which of them he pleases from the same texts, just as it serves his turn; though it is certain they are utterly contradictory, and as scripture cannot teach, so no man can consistently argue for both. His quotation from Hermas has been considered before, Num. XCIII. I have also shewed, Num. LXIX. what is meant by the *second death*, and by death and hades being cast into the *lake of fire*. "One cannot "conceive any more," says Dr. Wall [e], "by death and "hades cast into the lake, than that there shall be "no more death or hades; but all heaven or hell." And lord King [f], having quoted St. John's words, thus explains them; "That is, death or the grave "surrendered her imprisoned bodies, and hell her "detained souls; after which their empire and power "over the children of men was destroyed and annihilated." There will then be *no more death*, that *last enemy* will *be destroyed*, and *swallowed up in victory*, 1 Cor. xv. 26, 54. and *hades*, his companion and attendant, Apoc. vi. 8.[g] must *follow with him*. In consequence of this, the *second death*, with regard to wicked men, cannot be any future dissolu-

[e] On the New Testament, p. 413.

[f] Critical Hist. of the Creed, p. 227.

[g] Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἵππος χλωρὸς, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

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tion of body and soul, but a state of punishment; having *their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: this is the second death.* In this sense, *he that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death,* Apoc. ii. 11. Nor would the wicked be hurt by it, but greatly relieved, if it only meant annihilation. "The victory over temporal death "shall be in some measure (as has been already ob- "served) universal; for all shall rise again from the "dead, and all, both just and unjust, shall be clothed "with immortal and incorruptible bodies, which shall "never be dissolved any more. But though there "shall be no more dissolution of the body, nor sepa- "ration of the soul, yet is there a greater destruc- "tion, into which they who *believe not God, and* "*obey not his gospel, shall at last fall;* and that is, "*the second death;* Rev. xxi. 8. *The fearful, the* "*unbelieving, the abominable, and murderers, and* "*whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and* "*all liars, shall have their part in the lake that* "*burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the* "*second death.*" Dr. Clarke's Sermon, How Christ has given us the Victory over Death, vol. v. p. 234.

Num. C.

Apoc. xxi. 27. *And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.* See Numb. LXI. LXIV. LXVI.

Num. CI.

Apoc. xxii. 11, 12. *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still. And, behold, I come quickly;*

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and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. See Dr. Clarke's two excellent Sermons on these words, vol. ix. p. 179.

God will reward all men according to their deserts. Page 180, he says, "An argument still more "pressing than either of the former (viz. Christ's "declaring that he *will reward* every man accord- "ing to his works, and his warning them of the "suddenness of his coming to distribute those re- "wards; an argument more pressing than either "of these,) is this very declaration, this additional "threatening, that even before his coming, if they "continue obstinate, he will forsake and leave them "to the effects of their own wickedness; *he that is* "*unjust, let him be unjust still.*" P. 181.—"De- "nouncing to the obstinately wicked and impeni- "tent, that if they will not be brought to a timely "repentance, by those motives of religion he has "thought fit to afford them, he will give them up to "themselves, to eat the fruit of their own ways, and "to be filled with their own devices. *He that is* "*unjust,*" &c. P. 182. "If therefore men will be "wicked, after all reasonable means have been made "use of for their conviction; nothing is more fit, "nothing more becoming the supreme Governor of "all things, than to give them over to continue in "their wickedness: nor can any punishment be "more proper and equitable, if men will be *unjust,* "in defiance of all the arguments of the gospel, in "contempt of all the mercies and all the judg- "ments of God; than to *let* them *be unjust still.*" P. 185. "Wicked men ought earnestly to be warned, "that, if they repent not very speedily, the time will "soon come when it shall be too late for them to

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" have any alteration made in their state: *He that* " *is unjust,*" &c. In the second Sermon, p. 211, he says,—" Besides the shortness of the time itself, (viz. " to the end of the world,) it is really to us much " shorter, in that to every particular person, the " world comes to an end at the conclusion of his " own life; and to him, that moment which con- " signs him to judgment, by requiring his soul of " him, and putting an end to all further space of " probation, is in all respects the very same thing, " as if the day of his death were itself the great and " final day of judgment."—" That which will deter- " mine every man's eternal portion is of necessity " and inevitably very near;—for this cause our Sa- " viour represents his coming as being very near; " *Behold, I come quickly,*" &c. P. 223. " All the " mercies and all the judgments of God, all the pro- " mises and all the threatenings in scripture; in a " word, the whole design of the gospel, is to call " *sinners to repentance.* If they will not be drawn " by these cords of a man, by these motives suited to " the nature of rational creatures; God is not ob- " liged to compel them by force, and to use methods " inconsistent with his government of the moral " world." In the next page,—" If we will not be " made happy, unless God work a miracle to alter " our wills; if we will not become righteous, unless " he change our nature, and compel us, contrary to " the order and method of his creation, and of his " government of reasonable creatures; both reason " and scripture assure us, that he may very justly " suffer us to go on to be wicked and miserable." Once more, p. 228.—" Of all obstinately wicked and " incorrigible persons, it is said, in the words of the

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" text, at the end of the whole scripture; that if " they will not be moved to repent, by the things " contained in that book, by all the arguments and " motives of the gospel; then *he that is unjust, let* " *him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him* " *be filthy still.*"

I have quoted so much from Dr. Clarke [h], not only because it explains St. John's words, but also because it lays the foundation of the doctrine I contend for. Here is no express declaration indeed, either in the text or comment, of the duration of future punishments; but here is an express declaration that God will reward *every man according as his work shall be;* and that men may become so obstinately and incorrigibly wicked, that it will be in vain to use any means to recover them; and that therefore no more means will be used. It is possible, in the nature of things, that such creatures may be annihilated, because there is a power in being able to effect this. But to argue from mere power, in this case, (and indeed in most cases,) is unphilosophical and absurd. We must attend to the nature and reasons of things, and the declarations of God's will; and there is no ground from these to expect annihilation, but much to the contrary.

[h] I may add also archbishop Tillotson: " This life is the time " of our preparation for our future state. Our souls will con- " tinue for ever what we make them in this world. Such a tem- " per and disposition of mind as a man carries with him out of " this life, he shall retain in the next. It is true, indeed, heaven " perfects those holy and virtuous dispositions which are begun " here; but the other world alters no man as to his main state; " *he that is filthy, will be filthy still;* and *he that is unrighteous,* " *will be unrighteous still.*" Sermon on Phil. iii. 20.

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Num. CII.

Apoc. xxii. 15. *For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* See Num. C. and the other texts there referred to.

Such as these are excluded out of the *holy city*, have no *inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God*, but *are cast out into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone*, in *the everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his angels; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.*

Num. CIII.

Apoc. xxii. 18, 19. *For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.*

One of the first texts we quoted above is John the Baptist's testimony of our Saviour, Matt. iii. 12. *Whose fan is in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* "This text contains," says Dr. Clarke, "a distinct declaration, that the great design of "God, as in every dispensation of religion in gene-"ral, so in the gospel more particularly, is to sepa-"rate the evil from the good by proper trials: and "that this design will be effectually accomplished "by Christ; in the present life partly, and to cer-

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" tain degrees; in the future life perfectly, totally, " and finally." With this declaration of the Baptist's, almost in the beginning of the New Testament, agree our Lord's own words here, at the end of it. We see, in this last chapter of the Revelation, the complete establishment of the kingdom and city of God; when the wicked shall be separated from among the just, totally and for ever. And this evidently appears, from all the texts produced in these two chapters, to be the uniform doctrine of the New Testament, from one end of it to the other.

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CHAP. III.

In which the doctrine collected from the texts above cited is further asserted, and reconciled with the moral perfections of God.

IT is abundantly clear from the two preceding chapters, that at the day of judgment a separation will be made between the righteous and the wicked. This indeed, excepting the circumstance of the time, is not so properly a point of revelation, as the fundamental principle of all religion, as well natural as revealed: *for he that cometh to God*, in any act of religion, or religious worship, *must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him*, Heb. xi. 6. Without this retribution, which implies punishment as well as reward, (though it was to the apostle's purpose here to mention only the latter,) religion signifies nothing; the same end, and the same event would come alike to all men; and as no distinction would be made either here or hereafter, between the good and the bad, God Almighty could not be said to be the moral Governor and Judge of the world. It is therefore a certain, clear, and fundamental principle of all religion, that there will be a retribution both to good and bad. The scriptures, especially of the New Testament, teach us, that this retribution will be made at the day of judgment; then shall the righteous and the wicked be separated from one another, *and these shall go away into everlasting punish-*

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ment; but the righteous into life eternal. See Num. XXII.

The question we are immediately concerned in is, Whether this punishment of the wicked, subsequent to the day of judgment, will be strictly everlasting, or eternal? It will appear plainly to any one who reads the testimonies produced above, which way the language of the New Testament leans in this point. This certainly leads us to the affirmative side of the question. Archbishop Tillotson, in his famous Sermon on the subject, makes it one head of his discourse to shew, "That the eternal punish-"ment of wicked men in another world is plainly "threatened in scripture." This is plain, if words can threaten any thing plainly; or if it be plainly promised that the life of the righteous in another world will be eternal. And this, I suspect, is the real reason at bottom, though some other pretences are suggested, (of which more in its proper place,) why Mr. Whiston denies both. This gentleman takes the liberty to assert, that eternal punishments are entirely unjust in their own nature; extremely cruel and barbarous, both in the threatening and in the execution[a]. Here, we see, lies the root of the matter. Texts and testimonies of scripture, and fathers, may be quoted, in a manner, such a manner as it is; but what is all this to the purpose? the case is prejudged, and in effect determined beforehand. And what sentence can one expect from a judge, who at the same time that he calls in witnesses, and pretends to examine them, makes a declaration that, however, let them say what they will, the cause is so absurd, or so unjust in its own na-

[a] P. 136.

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ture, that no evidence will be sufficient to prove it? Dr. Burnet, though a great opposer of the eternity of future punishment, yet is forced to own that the scripture seems to be on the other side: "Natura "humana abhorret ab ipso nomine pœnarum æter- "narum, &c. At scriptura sacra a partibus contra- "riis stare videtur[b]." "But then reason," he says, "the nature of God, and the nature of things, reclaim "loudly." We see where the thing rests. It would readily be acknowledged that the scripture teaches eternal punishments, if the doctrine could be reconciled with reason, and our natural notions of God's

[b] De Statu Mort. et Resurg. p. 288. edit. 2da. After the words above quoted, he goes on thus:—"Humani generis amantissi- "mus Jesus Christus, aperte et explicite has pœnas dæmonum "et damnatorum *æternas* appellat; cum bonorum et malorum "explicans fata, sententiam in improbos hac formula pronunciat; "*Execrati abite a me in ignem æternum, qui paratus est Diabolo* "*et angelis ejus*, Matt. xxv. 41. Eodem sensu, tritico in horreum "collecto, paleam exurendam dicit *igne inextincto*, Matt. iii. 12. "Et in gehenna *non mori vermem nec extingui ignem*, Mar. ix. 44. "Hæc testari videntur, idque ex ore Christi, improborum pœnas "fore æternas et interminatas. Neque aliter loquuntur prophetæ "et apostoli, Dan. xii. 2. 2 Thess. i. 9."—What can give a man, who owns all this, the hardiness to contradict it? and who admits too at the same time, that the rule of interpretation "a li- "tera non recedendum esse sine necessitate." Why truly, there are reasons, "manifest reasons and invincible arguments," against this doctrine: that is, against the plain and explicit declarations of Jesus Christ himself, the prophets, and apostles. On the contrary, I am satisfied, first, that there are no such reasons: and, secondly, that if there were, it is not likely that men should be able to discover them. It cannot be consistent with the wisdom of God to threaten what is inconsistent with any known perfection of his nature to execute. Such conduct is below the wisdom of an earthly lawgiver; and such empty threats, as soon as they were discovered to be so, would only expose him and his laws to contempt.

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perfections. This therefore is what I am now to attempt: and in order to it, I observe,

First, That the doctrine of eternal punishments all along proceeds upon the supposition, that the persons condemned to them are incurably wicked, and fixed in a state and temper of mind everlastingly and unalterably evil. This, I conceive, if he will be consistent with himself, Mr. Whiston cannot well deny; since he declares it "is perfectly agreeable to the testimonies sacred and primitive," and what they all agree in, "that what repentance or "pardon soever there may be in hades, the state of "preparation, there is no hopes of either in gehenna, "or hell itself," p. 73. See Num. XV. above. In other places he speaks of such as are "incorrigibly "wicked;" — of "abandoned wretches, whom no "methods of mercy, or correction, or preaching of "Christ or his apostles, either on earth or in hades, "could bring to repentance and salvation," p. 117. Now, supposing such beings as these, men or devils, what can even goodness itself do with them? It is not possible, in the nature of things, that such creatures should be made happy; it is no way desirable, Mr. W. allows, "that they should ever be made hap"py, either in this or another world," p. 131. There is no expedient then to relieve them, but annihilation; a point which I must discuss by itself, and which therefore I take the liberty at present to suppose out of the question. This therefore being set aside for the present, I ask again, what the great Governor and Judge of the world can do with such creatures[c]? It is inconsistent with every moral per-

[c] Mr. Swinden, in his Enquiry into the Nature and Place of Hell, p. 284. had asserted, "that the mercy of God, though in-

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fection of his nature to reward them; it is inconsistent with justice and reason and truth; it is inconsistent with goodness itself, if goodness be consistent with rectitude, with doing always what is right and best. It is inconsistent with their depravity, and their utter moral incapacity of becoming better, wilfully and obstinately contracted by themselves, ever to be made happy. There will be no amendment in their temper, no change or reformation of their evil habits; that is, no alteration, for the better, in their moral state: and why then should there, or how indeed can there, be any in their natural? If it was

" finite as himself, is yet not capable of being extended to those " obstinate and wilful offenders; (viz. *the Devil and his angels*, " whom he had just mentioned;) to them that despise, revile, and " trample it under foot; to them that contemn, and undermine, " and oppose the gracious designs of it." Somebody who writ a Supplement, as he calls it, (though he did not so much as know what the word *supplement* means,) takes Mr. Swinden to task for this assertion, p. 364. " It must appear," he says, " greatly sur- " prising, that after Mr. Swinden has declared his approbation of " the freedom of thought which ought to be allowed to every " writer, that he should pronounce such an *ipse dixit*, as to as- " sert—that 'the mercy of God, which, though infinite as himself, " is yet not capable of being extended to sinners.'" The grammar and sense of this period are of a piece. The *Devil and his angels*, and such obstinate and incorrigible offenders, are turned into sinners in general, penitent or impenitent; and Mr. Swinden is made to say, that the infinite mercy of God cannot be extended to sinners. When a man thus misrepresents his adversary's argument, take it for a confession that he cannot answer it. What Mr. Swinden says, wants no proof, and is capable of no confutation. It is evident, from the clearest ideas in the human mind, that the only possible object of mercy is penitence; unless you mean by *mercy* an imperfection, an irrational weakness, by no means compatible to the great God, the supreme Governor and Judge of the world.

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right and reasonable, and consistent with the moral attributes of God, to punish them for a year, or a day; it will be so still to punish them for ever, if they themselves, and all the reasons of their punishment, remain the same for ever; which is according to the supposition.

There are but two things, as far as I can discern, that can be objected to this account. One is, that the supposition itself of their incorrigible wickedness, or incurably wicked temper, is unreasonable; since all intelligent beings, sooner or later, will probably return to order. The other is, that allowing the supposition, that free beings can thus fix themselves in a state of incurable and endless wickedness and misery, it is not consistent with the perfections of God, who must know and foresee this, to create them. I must speak more particularly to the first point, when I come to examine what they call the system of the restoration, or reestablishment. I only say now in general, that the case supposed may possibly be a real one. We cannot from any clear ideas prove, that such final incurable perverseness and depravity is impossible in the nature of things. And we know an instance, in fact, of beings, who have continued in such a state of moral disorder for upwards, it may be, of six thousand years. They may continue the same for six millions more, and so on for ever. For length of time signifies nothing towards producing a real reformation, which is not an event that comes to pass of course; but serves only to confirm their evil temper and habits, and ingraft them more deeply in their very frame and constitution. However, as I said before, this is the supposition, on which the doctrine of eternal pu-

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nishment proceeds. It is in vain therefore to say how they would be dealt with in case they repented, and became really virtuous; for there is no such case supposed. They have rendered themselves incapable of it, by their own free and deliberate choice; and the means and opportunities of it are no longer afforded them. Compare Numbers XII. XIII. XVI. XIX. XX. XXI. XXV. CI. and what is advanced under each.

But it is said, that this supposition is inconsistent with the divine perfections;—it is inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of God, so to form and constitute the human or rational nature, that it should be possible for it to degenerate into incurable depravity: or, if he would so frame it, it ought at least to have been with this reserve, that, when it once came to that extremity, it should return to nothing. In short, no creatures ought to be exposed to the terrible risk of eternal damnation; they would have reason to upbraid the Creator for giving them existence [d].

I am satisfied, for my own part, that men, who talk thus, talk they know not what; and throw some words together without any clear ideas. "God "must not form or constitute the human or rational "nature, so as it shall be capable of degenerating "into a state of incurable wickedness [e]." But it

[d] Burnet ubi sup. p. 291. and the introduction to some letters on this subject, at the end of a book entitled, The World unmasked; or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat. Translated from the French, and printed 1736.

[e] "Others there are, who have presumptuously taken upon them "to argue, that, according to their notions of the divine goodness, "all creatures should be made capable of happiness only, and

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should have been clearly proved, that such a capacity as is here mentioned, is not implied in the very nature and notion of a free creature; such as human or rational beings are. These must have a power of choosing evil; that is, of making a wrong choice. And, possibly, they may make it so obstinately, and so long, that at last they cannot, or will not, make any other. Must God then, to prevent this accidental consequence or abuse of liberty, create no free beings at all? that would be hard; would rob him of his glory, and millions of creatures (who make a right use of their liberty) of their happiness. Well, but if this be the case, and free agents must be created, who, as such, may wilfully render themselves incurably wicked; it should be, however, with this condition, *hac saltem lege et modo*, that when they once arrived at this pitch, "they should fall "back again into nothing." But what if this project too should be a violation of the nature of things?

"none of them liable to fall into misery. But then it would fol-
"low, that God had no right to create any rational or free agents
"at all. For wherever there is freedom, (except only in God
"himself, who is by nature essentially and immutably good;
"wherever else, I say, there is freedom,) in whatever proportion
"and degree it be, there must be accordingly a power of choos-
"ing evil as well as good; and where there is no possibility of
"disobedience, there can be properly no obedience neither; nor
"any virtue, where there is no room for vice. Sufficient it is,
"that God, the supreme Judge and Governor of all, will deal
"with every one proportionally according to their respective cir-
"cumstances; and will finally punish even incorrigible wicked-
"ness itself, not arbitrarily, but according to its just deserts; and
"in such manner as shall appear to become him, who is all-wise
"and good as well as all-powerful, to act in his government of
"the universe." Dr. Clarke, Sermon on Matt. xxv. 46. vol. vii. p. 409.

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What if God created all human and all rational beings, *eadem lege et modo*; all equally incapable, the wicked as well as the virtuous, "of falling back into "nothing?" Is there any thing unjust in this? any thing, but what is highly congruous, uniform, and proper? Must different men, the good and the bad, have souls of a different nature? the souls of the good, under God, naturally immortal; while those of the incurably wicked should have a natural tendency to "slide back again into nothing?" This is absurd, contradictory, and impossible: the souls of men must be all of the same nature and order. And Dr. Burnet himself has excellently proved, in his second chapter, that they are naturally immortal. This therefore is the constitution which God has actually established; and is therefore again, we may be sure, the best. Still, however, it is in the power of God to annihilate them; though they have no tendency in their own nature "to fall back into nothing." But is God Almighty obliged to do this? Yes, says Dr. Burnet, the honour of Providence cannot be maintained without it. That is, the honour of Providence cannot be maintained, unless, by arbitrary interpositions of mere power, it acts contrary to the original constitution and nature of things; unless it reverses its own laws, and, in favour of its greatest enemies, reduces into nothing beings created naturally immortal, capable of eternal happiness, and who once stood a fair and equal chance for it, but voluntarily rendered themselves incurably wicked and miserable. To say, [f]as is said, that these beings

[f] Both by Dr. Burnet, p. 290. and Mr. Whiston, p. 19. Though this last gentleman once talked as if they would be "a most useful "spectacle" (their place of torment being the atmosphere of a co-

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can be "of no use," is saying a great deal more than any man knows. However, this is certain, they can be of little use after they are annihilated; and the example, perhaps, if known, might be of ill consequence to other creatures, (if any such there should be,) in some future states of probation; besides that it is contrary to the nature of things. I doubt not but we should find, if we could comprehend the whole scheme and conduct of Providence, that it always acts uniformly, agreeably to the nature of things, and its own original constitution and appointment in the creation. Beings created naturally immortal, that is, to exist for ever, with the ordinary influence and concurrence of God, will never be destroyed preternaturally by the power of God. They must abide by the consequences of the nature which God at first implanted in them. But being thus "exposed to the terrible risk of eternal damna-" tion, they will have reason," it seems, "to upbraid " their Creator for giving them existence." Why so? He not only gave them existence, but all the necessary means of rendering that existence happy, through the whole extent of its endless duration. Was this an ill gift? It proved so, you will say, in the event: but was that the Creator's fault? Must he create them necessarily happy, without liberty or virtue; without any probation? We see he has not done this; the constitution which he has established

met, revolving in the sight of all the inhabitants of our air, and of the rest of the system,) to the rest of God's rational creatures; and would admonish them above all things to preserve their innocence and obedience; and to *fear him who is* thus *able to destroy both soul and body in hell.* Astronomical Principles of Religion, p. 156.

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in fact, is of a contrary kind; and there is no arguing against it, but upon the principles of atheism. We are all of us yet in this probationary state; and consequently "exposed to the terrible risk of eternal "damnation;" that is, we may incur this doom, if we will. But is there any room for complaint upon this head? Any reason to upbraid the Creator? Can we, consistently with any principles of religion, upbraid him for giving us existence upon these terms? Suppose now this state of probation over: we are disposed of in another, of exact distributive justice; where our natural condition will be as good, as our moral temper and habits deserve; or, all things considered, perhaps, will admit of: that is, they will be exactly adapted and suited to each other. Where then will be the reason to upbraid the Creator? If we are miserable, still all is right: and there will be no more reason to upbraid God in that state of retribution, than there was before, in the state of probation. It would be a miserable universe, if this righteous disposition of things did not finally prevail. I will close this article in the words of a fine reasoner, which will have more weight than any of my own.

"To produce a being into a state of clear happi-"ness, in any degree, can be no injury to it; or into "a state of mixed happiness, provided the happiness "certainly overbalances the contrary, and the un-"happy or suffering part be not greater than what "that being would choose in order to obtain the "happiness, or rather than lose it. Nor, again, can "any wrong be done by producing a being subject to "more misery than happiness, if that being hath it "in his own power to avoid the misery, or so much

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" of it, as may leave the remainder of misery not " greater, than what he would rather sustain than " miss the proportion of happiness. [g] The only case " then, by which wrong can be done in the produc- " tion of any being, is, when it is necessarily and " irremediably to be miserable, without any recom- " pense, or balance of that misery: and this indeed " is a case so grievous, so utterly irreconcilable to " all reason, that the heart of a reasoning and con- " sidering man can scarce bear the thought of it. So " much every one must understand of the nature of " reason and justice, as to allow these things for " truths incontestable." *Religion of Nature delineated*, p. 200. fifth edit.

I pass on to a second observation, intimated more than once already, viz. That the degrees of this future punishment will be infinitely various, and exactly in proportion to the guilt and demerit of those who suffer them [h]. It is plainly declared in scrip-

[g] Hence may appear the difference between the doctrine of the eternity of future punishments, and the doctrine of absolute reprobation: two very different things, though Mr. Whiston, p. 2. and Dr. Burnet, p. 308. are pleased to rank them together.

[h] " There is such a difference acknowledged in the state of the " blessed, where all are happy according to their several capaci- " ties; and so it is in hell, where all are miserable, if compared " with the condition of the blessed, but in different degrees: and " as in this life some are so unfortunate that it were better for " them not to be at all, than to continue always in the state in " which they are; so in hell there may be some whose condition " is preferable to not being; though for Judas and such sinners " it had been better they had never been." Archbishop King, Sermon on the Fall of Man, at the end of the second volume of the Origin of Evil.

It is better, perhaps, not to determine any thing about the point here mentioned by the archbishop. All that are condemned

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ture, that it will be *more tolerable* for some than for others, *in the day of judgment*; and that some will receive *a greater damnation*. And indeed this doctrine of the degrees and different measures of punishment is implied in the very notion of a just and righteous judgment. I need not therefore undertake formally to prove this point. "It is certain," says Mr. Whiston, "and agreed to by all, that some "sinners deserve much greater punishment than "others; and that God will *render to every one ac-* "*cording to his works*: that some will be beaten "with *many*, and others with *few stripes*, in the "future world." P. 108. This principle, thus "agreed "to by all," our adversaries endeavour to make their advantage of; (though they seem to forget it upon some other occasions; when, in their rhetorical declamations upon this subject, they seem to represent all the sufferers alike, in the same exquisite and extreme degree of torment.) "It most naturally im- "plies," Mr. W. tells us, "that the punishment of "some of the wicked shall be much longer than of "others[i]." But why *longer?* Cannot some be beaten

to hell, suffer, of course, the loss of heaven, and all that is included in the *pœna damni*. If they deserve to suffer no more, they will suffer no more. And every degree of positive punishment superadded will be no more than what is just and necessary. So that no one's existence will be worse than nonexistence, wrongfully, or without reason.

[i] To what Mr. W. alleges out of Justin Martyr, I answer, that it is evident from his own testimonies out of that father, p. 76, 77. that he asserted the eternity of future punishment; which testimonies, however, he has castrated by his arbitrary interpretation. As to what Justin says in the place here referred to, it must be observed, that he is arguing against that independent immortality of the soul, asserted by the Platonists, which implies a *be-*

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with *more stripes* than others, though their existence in that place of torment be of equal duration? May not some prisoners deserve and meet with better treatment than others, though the time of their confinement in prison be the same? Though the scriptures tell us that God will *render to every man according to his works*, and make mention of the *many*, and of the *few stripes*; yet they never say, that some shall be punished *for a long time*, εἰς χρόνον πολὺν, and others *for a short time*, εἰς χρόνον μικρὸν, or εἰς ὀλίγον καιρόν. But the difference always turns upon the variety of degrees, and not at all upon the inequality of the duration; the punishment of all being represented as αἰώνιος, or εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, equally; never once, as πρόσκαιρος, *temporal*, or for a season. This difference of degrees, therefore, is the thing most naturally implied, according to the whole tenor of scripture, when any difference is spoken of[k]. But this "equal duration," Mr. W. says, p. 108, "is contrary to the most obvious rules of right "and justice in the world." I, on the other hand,

ginningless, as well as *endless* duration; in which sense, *God only hath immortality*. In this sense, he will not allow the souls of men to be immortal; not that they will ever perish, for those of the good, he expressly says, shall "die no more;" and those of the wicked shall be punished as long as God wills "to continue them "in being, and to punish them." The meaning of which is, agreeably to the point he is upon, that their existence is dependent upon God; who, as he at first gave, has it always in his power to take it away. But that he ever will do so, is not said; nor consistent with what Justin teaches, concerning their endless punishment, elsewhere: see the pages above referred to in Mr. W.'s book. See also the notes in Jebb's edition of the Dialogue with Trypho, p. 19, 21. And for a full vindication of Justin Martyr, see Mr. Chishull's Charge of Heresy, chap. iii.

[k] Compare what is said, Num. XXXV.

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assert, that since there will be so great a difference in the degrees of punishment, each man's being exactly suited to the demerit of his sin, and the malignity of his temper, there will be no injustice in the equal duration of it: and that *the Judge of all the earth* will still *do right*, though he does not preternaturally annihilate those creatures whom he originally created naturally immortal. "For why, I "beseech you," says Dr. Clarke, "must it needs be "supposed, that God cannot dispose of all his ra- "tional creatures into states suitable to their several "natures, and proportionable to their several capa- "cities and deserts, without destroying and taking "away their being?" Letter to Mr. Dodwell, p. 62. And again, p. 67. "But certainly it is a very weak "and poor argument, to conclude that numberless "souls must therefore necessarily be annihilated, "merely because we do not know in particular "what state and condition it will please God to as- "sign them." There can be no doubt but that God can thus dispose of all his creatures (incorrigibly wicked Christians, as well as heathens and infants) in such a manner as is right, and best upon the whole; and yet so, that none of them shall suffer more than the reason of the thing demands, or their own iniquities deserve. And provided this be but done, there will be no reasonable ground of complaint, because he does not take away their being.

A third observation to be made is, That these punishments are not merely arbitrary, or so to be understood, as if God interposed every moment to inflict them, by acts of mere power and will; but they are the natural and necessary consequence and result of things. There is a man, indeed, who

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calls himself, or his book, *the Moral Philosopher*, (and one is as much so as the other,) who denies all this; and tells us that "these rewards and punish-"ments must be such as are not the natural, neces-"sary consequences of the actions themselves, since "every one must see that this would be no govern-"ment at all, and that the case, in this respect, "must be the very same, whether we suppose any "rectoral justice, or any presence or operation of "God in the world, or not." Vol. i. p. 189, 190. It is my misfortune not to see this, or any thing like it. On the contrary, I see plainly that the govern-ment of God at present, is, in general, administered in a different way. And yet this is very far from being the "very same," as to suppose, that there is no "presence or operation of God in the world." But I beg leave to illustrate this point in the words of a great and excellent writer, who has introduced the solid manner of reasoning upon moral subjects, so highly and so justly approved in natural, building no-thing upon conjecture and hypothesis, but all upon facts and experience. It will be immediately seen that I mean bishop Butler, whose Analogy of Re-ligion natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, is one of the noblest performances our age has produced, and would have been an ho-nour to any.—"From this general observation, ob-"vious to every one, that God has given us to un-"derstand, he has appointed satisfaction and de-"light to be the consequence of our acting in one "manner, and pain and uneasiness of our acting "in another, and of our not acting at all; and that "we find these consequences, which we were before-"hand informed of, uniformly to follow; we may

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"learn, that we are at present actually under his "government in the strictest and most proper sense; "in such a sense, as that he rewards and punishes "us for our actions. An author of nature being sup- "posed, it is not so much a deduction of reason, as "a matter of experience, that we are thus under his "government: under his government, in the same "sense, as we are under the government of civil "magistrates. Because the annexing pleasure to "some actions, and pain to others, in our power to "do or forbear, and giving notice of this appoint- "ment beforehand to those whom it concerns; is "the proper formal notion of government. Whether "the pleasure or pain which thus follows upon what "we do, be owing to the Author of nature's acting "upon us every moment which we feel it; or to his "having at once contrived and executed his own "part in the plan of the world, makes no alteration "as to the matter before us. For if civil magistrates "could make the sanctions of their laws take place, "without interposing at all, after they had passed "them; without a trial, and the formalities of an "execution: if they were able to make their laws "execute themselves, or every offender to execute "them upon himself; we should be just in the same "sense under their government then, as we are "now; but in a much higher degree, and more per- "fect manner." P. 35. 4to edit.[1]

As this then is not only a possible, but a real case, the case in fact, under the present government of God; it may be the same, even in a much higher degree, and more perfect manner, in the future state

[1] Compare archbishop King's Appendix to his Origin of Evil, sect. iii.

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of retribution. The natural consequences of things and actions may then take their course, with less disturbance and interruption. Natural and moral evil will be closely connected, and every degree of the one be attended with an equal degree of the other. It is a jest to say, that this is inconsistent with the notion of governing justice; which is rather an illustrious display of it. For what does that require more, than that wicked agents should be punished, proportionably as their iniquities deserve? And whether this punishment comes upon them, in the way of natural consequence, or of positive infliction, *pro re nata*, makes no difference as to them; for the punishment is supposed to be equally the same. And as to the "presence and operation of "God," they are by no means excluded by this supposition. The whole scheme is originally his contrivance and constitution. He is present every where, and acts always; but uniformly, agreeably to certain laws founded in eternal wisdom, reason, and truth; or to those ideas in the divine mind, according to which all things were created. This is acting according to the nature of things, which surely is very different from not acting at all; and seems to be more worthy of the Deity, than acting by occasional and arbitrary interpositions of power; the way in which poor mortals act, for want of ability to contrive, execute, or even comprehend, a system of government, so universal, so complex, and so perfect as the other.

In short, there are two ways in which future punishments may be supposed to be inflicted: they may either proceed arbitrarily from the will of God, or necessarily from the nature of things. Which of

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these appears to be most worthy of God, and most analogous to the present administration of Providence, I leave the world to judge. The arbitrary scheme is perplexed with many difficulties[m], of which the other stands clear. There are certain consequences of actions and habits, which, of course, will take place. And if these will constitute a just and adequate punishment, (and who can prove they will not?) what reason is there to superadd any other kinds of torment, *pro arbitrio*, which have no natural connection with the crimes to be punished? If it be asked, what all these natural consequences are, which will constitute this punishment in the future world; I answer, that I am not able to tell distinctly; nor do I know who is. But we see that vice has terrible consequences, which naturally attend and follow it, in the present scene of things. And there is no reason to think that it will be otherwise, when this scene of things is over. It is easily conceivable, how inveterate and incurable habits of it may affect the temper and frame of the soul. And though there may be more difficulty in this point, with regard to the new-raised body[n]; yet we know

[m] See this proved in a piece entitled, The Doctrine of Hell Torments distinctly and impartially discussed. Printed for J. Noon, 1738. I don't undertake to answer for all the author's premises; but I agree with him in his conclusion, that "the punishments are not arbitrary."

[n] Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

Habits contracted in the body in this state of probation, may adhere to it after the resurrection; just as they would have done, if the sinner had lived all the intermediate time, and no interval had passed in the grave. And how these may affect it, we

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that the man cannot be happy, while the mind is miserable. Besides, the nature of the state and place to which they are condemned, must be taken into consideration; as also the company they are confined to; that of beings like themselves, wholly alienated from the nature and life of God; and such as have extinguished all the sparks of virtuous and good affection. In the natural result and necessary consequences of these things together, their punishment will consist; and nothing more terrible can be presented to a thoughtful and virtuous mind.

Supposing this to be the case, the threats of eternal punishment must be considered as so many plain declarations of the natural consequences of a wicked life; and will not so properly be executed, by the particular interposition of any being whatever, as come to pass of course, necessarily, and in the very nature of things. It is absurd therefore to say, that this punishment is "extremely cruel and barbarous, "both in the threatening and in the execution[o]." The execution results from the nature of things; from the necessary connection between natural and moral good and evil; and the threatening is a fair warning, a gracious admonition, or, as I said before, a plain declaration of what will and must inevitably follow, if men choose and finally persevere in their

cannot tell distinctly, unless we knew more particularly with what bodies they shall be raised.

[o] Indulgens est enim, (Deus,) etiam tunc cum minatur; dum per hæc homines ad recta revocantur. Nam quibus ad honestam vitam deest ratio, metus est necessarius; ut qui rationem reliquerunt, vel terrore moveantur. *Novatian. de Trinitate*, cap. v. See Mr. Ray's three Physico-Theological Discourses, discourse the third, cap. ult.

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choice of the latter. This is so far from being an act of cruelty, that it is an instance of goodness, designed to prevent men from incurring the punishment denounced, by leading them to repentance. And to complain of it, is a thousand times more absurd, than to complain of a man who shews you a precipice, only to hinder you from being dashed to pieces. But, 4thly,

I make it a distinct observation, in order to vindicate the ways of God to man, with regard to this subject, that men were apprised and forewarned of this constitution, and of the consequences of a wicked life. The debate before us was, in the beginning of it, confined to the case of Christians. Not because others also shall not be brought into judgment, and punished as their iniquities deserve; but because the gospel, the punishments denounced in which only we are now considering, concerns itself only with Christians. And these have no reason to complain that they are not previously informed of the danger, and forewarned of the terrible consequences of their disobedience. For as *life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel*[p], so also in the same gospel is revealed, in the plainest and most positive terms, *the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men*[q]. If men will not believe this revelation, in this particular, but pervert its plain meaning, though expressed in variety of phrases, and repeated a thousand times over, by vain and groundless criticisms, and darken truth by words without knowledge; it is their own act, and their own fault, and the consequence be to

[p] 2 Tim. i. 10. [q] Rom. i. 18.

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themselves. They cannot, with any reason, reproach their Creator, as if he had not done his part, in setting before them while they were in their state of probation, that *the wages of sin is death*, eternal exclusion from his heavenly kingdom, and an everlasting state of punishment with the Devil and his angels. And it is, methinks, something surprising, that Christians should make such a doubt of this matter, with the plain declarations of the gospel lying open before them, since it was a doctrine commonly received, even by the heathens. Socrates[r] (from whom, by the bye, rather than from the gospel, Mr. Whiston seems to have borrowed his division of mankind) plainly supposes that some sinners, such as have been guilty of great and repeated acts of sacrilege, murder, or the like, will be judged *incurable*, and condemned to hell, (ὅθεν οὔποτε ἐκβαίνουσιν,) from which they will never be delivered. But it is foreign to the point in hand, to collect the authorities to this purpose. And it is, in some measure, done already, in Mr. Ray's Discourse, which I referred to above. Bishop Butler, as usual, represents this matter in a fine light: "Gentile writers," says he[s], "both moral-"ists and poets, speak of the future punishment of "the wicked, both as to the duration and degree of "it, in a like manner of expression and of descrip-"tion, as the scripture does; so that all which can "positively be asserted to be matter of mere revela-"tion, with regard to this doctrine, seems to be, "that the great distinction between the righteous "and the wicked shall be made at the end of this "world; that each shall then receive according to

[r] In Plato's Phædon. p. 178. ed. Cant.

[s] Analogy of Religion, &c. p. 39, 40.

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" his deserts. Reason did, as it well might, conclude " that it should, finally and upon the whole, be well " with the righteous, and ill with the wicked: but " it could not be determined upon any principles of " reason, whether human creatures might not have " been appointed to pass through other states of life " and being, before that distributive justice should " finally and effectually take place. Revelation " teaches us, that the next state of things after the " present, is appointed for the execution of this jus- " tice; that it shall be no longer delayed: but *the* " *mystery of God*, the great mystery of his suffering " vice and confusion to prevail, *shall then be finish-* " *ed;* and he will *take to him his great power and* " *will reign*, by rendering to every one according to " his works." This great point Christians are now assured of, with all the clearness imaginable; and if they miscarry in their main pursuit, by depending on something else, the blame will lie at their own door. Again,

As men were sufficiently apprised of this constitution of things, of these consequences of a wicked life, or what is the same in other words, of the perpetuity of future punishments; so they were at liberty, and had it in their power to avoid them. It is implied in the very notion of a state of trial, that as it must administer occasions to try our virtue, so it must furnish us with all necessary means to secure it: for when men are really tried above their strength, it is, in the account of morality, no trial at all. So much seems to be clear, *a priori*, from the very nature of a state of probation. And if we attend to our own, we shall find it to be the case in fact. It is evidently in our power to avoid all

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such gross acts, and all such habits of vice, at least, as will in the end prove absolutely fatal. It is in our power, not to contract any evil habits at all. And though when they are contracted, and are become inveterate and of long standing, it is with great difficulty that they are relinquished; yet may even this be done, at least in ordinary cases, by the grace of God, and a willing mind. But suppose the worst, that it is possible for men to destroy their natural liberty, and by a long custom of sinning render themselves incapable of amendment: still it is to be remembered, that they were not born with this incapacity, but purchased it at the expense of great industry in the trade of vice; in opposition to the repeated admonitions of their own consciences, and of the Spirit of grace. This fatal subjection to sin is the fruit and effect of a long and voluntary service. This case, therefore, supposing it a real one, is nothing to the purpose; and being set aside, I say men have sufficient power to avoid all such courses, as will bring upon them these eternal punishments. No temptations befall them, but such (due care presupposed on their part) as the providence of God will preserve them under, or make a way for them to escape from. If they fall, they may rise again; if they be overtaken in a fault, they may recover; repentance is a remedy, allowed and provided by the very terms of the Christian covenant; which does not require perfection from man, which he is not capable of here, but sincerity and honesty of heart, which he is. One would think there should be no need to observe such obvious things as these. And yet the writers on the other side seem wholly inattentive to them, when they represent the case, as if men were to be damned

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for weaknesses inherent in their nature, or temptations foreign to it; that is, in both cases, for something which they cannot help. Hear how piteously Mr. W. laments the condition of poor mankind, upon the supposition that "much the greatest part of them "must inevitably be damned for endless ages of ages, "for all the infinite ages of eternity; and all this for "the sins of this short life; fallen into generally by "the secret snares of the Devil, and other violent "temptations; which they commonly could not "wholly either prevent or avoid." P. 18, 19. I am concerned at present only with the latter part of this sentence, which seems to proceed entirely upon mistake. No man was ever damned, nor ever will be, upon account of the snares of the Devil, (the guilt of those be upon his own head,) nor for any temptations whatever, which he could not avoid; but solely for his own wilful wickedness, and that too unrepented of. Besides, if there be any temptations which men cannot either wholly prevent or avoid; still, may they not resist them? Or if they cannot resist the temptation, (which however to suppose is not very consistent with any religion, nor ever supposed, that I know of, in scripture, but much to the contrary,) cannot they repent of the sin, into which the temptation led them, and avoid that for the future? If they can do none of these things, they seem not to be the proper subjects either of reward or punishment; and so are not at all concerned in the argument before us. But the truth is, temptations hurt no man, any further than he makes them his own act and deed. And he is then only tempted in moral account, or so as it shall be imputed to him for sin, *when he is drawn away of his*

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own lust, and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death, James i. 14, 15. And therefore the temptations of the Devil are never urged in scripture, as Mr. W. urges them here, in excuse or alleviation of men's wickedness; but in aggravation of it. So the Devil entered into Judas, when his own wicked and corrupt heart was become a fit habitation for him, and the man was ready to execute every thing that the fiend could suggest. So in the case of Ananias and his wife, Acts v. St. Peter says, *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land?* The intent of which question is not to excuse Ananias, by throwing the blame upon the Devil that tempted him; but it is a severe rebuke to Ananias himself, whose wicked and corrupt heart had rendered him capable of being influenced in such a manner, and to such an action. In a word, men are to answer for the talents which they had, and not for the talents which they had not[t]. Where ignorance of a law, or incapacity to obey it, can be truly pleaded, and not pretended only, no doubt but the plea will be admitted; this is but reason

[t] Men may materially transgress their duty, through want of knowledge or power to do better: but this perhaps is not often the case, especially with regard to the great duties of life. "Nam "fere etiam ii, qui peccant, etsi non perfecte, tamen quid sit bo- "num et malum sentiunt; et quoties aliquid improbe faciunt, "peccare se sciunt, et ideo celare nituntur. Sed cum eos boni et "mali natura non fallat, cupiditate mala vincuntur, ut peccant; "quia deest illis virtus, id est, cupiditas recte et honesta faci- "endi." *Lactant.* ed. Oxon. p. 514.

——"Recte voluntas prava, et vitiosus animus, quem excusare "ignoratio non potest, punietur." *Ibid.*

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and equity. So that the point at last will come evidently to this, that men shall be punished only for the sins which they might have avoided: which again ends in this, that they had it in their power to avoid the punishment. Nay, (besides what was before observed, that the punishments are so particularly declared and denounced, on purpose that they may be avoided; besides the many motives and inducements to virtue from the beauty and worth of it, from temporal conveniences, health, reputation, happiness, at least, within, &c. besides all this,) men are allured and invited to avoid these punishments, by the promises of eternal life and glory: for,

As eternal punishment is threatened on the one hand, so eternal life and happiness is promised on the other. This consideration is of some weight, as the case is rendered thereby much fairer and more equal, than if men were liable to an eternal state of punishment, while the rewards set before them were only temporal. "It cannot be denied," says archbishop Dawes, "that the eternity of the "joys of heaven makes the belief of the eternity of "the torments of hell sit much easier upon our "minds, than it would otherwise have done. Had "the eternity been only on the punishing side, this "would have looked hard, and not altogether agree-"able to our notions of the divine goodness: but "being on the rewarding side likewise, we have "here infinite goodness and infinite justice set one "against the other; and what reason can any man "possibly have to complain of this? Nay, the very "eternity of the joys of heaven is an intimation, "and kind of presumptive proof of the eternity of "the torments of hell: inasmuch as we are sure

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" that God is every whit as much an enemy to vice, " as he is a friend to virtue, and have therefore all " the reason that can be to expect that he will " exert himself every whit as much in the punish- " ing of the one, as in the rewarding of the other." See more to this purpose in his fifth Sermon, p. 159, &c.

But I the more readily take notice of this observation, because Mr. Whiston has attacked the foundation of it[u]. He has denied the common faith of Christians in a point which, I conceive, enters into the very essence of the Christian covenant, *the life everlasting*. Here therefore, if any where, I must exchange a few words with him (and a few, one would think, should be sufficient) upon this subject. In John iii. 14, &c. our Lord says, *And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.* Here we must understand the word *perish*, (ἀπόλητται,) either in the sense *of ceasing to exist*, or in the sense of being *condemned*. If we take it in the former sense, and render ζωὴν αἰώνιον, (as Mr. W. always renders it,) *lasting life*, we make our Lord's discourse wholly inconclusive:—*He shall not perish, or be annihilated, but have lasting life.* But every one sees here is no just opposition, no sense in this; for he may have this *lasting life*, and *perish* too; (as he must do when this *lasting life* is at an

[u] Compare what is said under Num. XXII.

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end;) and therefore our Lord can never be supposed to talk in this manner. If we take the word (as we must take it) in the latter sense, our Lord's discourse will amount to this,—*So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not be condemned, but have lasting life*[x]. Here indeed is some sense; but poor and low, in comparison of what it is in the common translation. Our Lord is magnifying his Father's love to mankind, which was so great that *he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should have everlasting life.* Here is a gift worthy of the goodness of God to bestow, and worthy of the wisdom of God to convey through his *only begotten Son*[y]: *the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord,* Rom. vi. 23. There is a like representation of this matter, equally plain and strong, John x. 28, 29. *I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all: and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.* We deprive these words of their beauty and force, if we suppose, with Mr. W., that notwithstanding *none is able to pluck them out of* the *hand* of the Father and the Son, yet at last they will of themselves drop

[x] There seems to be no just opposition in the words even in this sense: for when this *lasting life* is over, as it will some time be, they will be condemned to be annihilated; the apprehensions of which all along (if they know any thing of the matter) will be a punishment in proportion to the greatness of the happiness they are to lose.

[y] *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?* Rom. viii. 32.

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out, as it were, into nothing. But this important point does not rest upon two or three single passages. It is expressed throughout the New Testament in the strongest language: *this mortal shall put on immortality*,—then shall *death* be *swallowed up in victory*[z]:—*neither can they die any more*[a]. It is a poor evasion to say, that they shall only die no more in the same sense and manner of dying as they did before, but still they may die in the sense of ceasing to exist for ever. This is making *the oracles of God* more ambiguous, more equivocating and deceitful, than the heathen oracles. No, they will never cease to exist, and to be happy; being in possession of *an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away*, 1 Peter i. 4: in possession of *the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world*, Matt. xxv. 34: which kingdom is an *everlasting kingdom*;—*and they shall reign for ever and ever*, Rev. xxii. 5. Compare Dan. vii. 18. It is the kingdom of Christ, and of God the Father. See the note concerning doxologies, Num. XXII. What St. Paul says, 1 Cor. xv. 24. about Christ's *delivering up the kingdom to God, even the Father*, is not at all inconsistent with this everlasting kingdom, in which he and his saints shall reign for ever and ever. The mediatorial kingdom, the kingdom of grace, the kingdom which he governed in a particular manner, while he was subduing all opposite *rule, authority, and power*, and putting *all enemies under his feet*, will then be at an end: but there is still the kingdom of glory, into which he introduces his redeemed; and of this

[z] 1 Cor. xv. 53, 54. [a] Luke xx. 36.

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kingdom there shall be no end. Nicene Creed, Luke i. 33.

As this has been the common faith of Christians, from the commencement of the Christian name, whoever ventures to oppose it, ought, one would think, to have some good argument to produce against it. Let us now examine Mr. Whiston's. All that he suggests in point of reason is to this effect [b]; that if any creatures are to exist for ever, they will be coeternal with their infinite and everlasting Creator; that this is an amazing coeternity; "and has long "seemed to him too vast and immense a thing to "be expected, not only by us, poor, imperfect, sinful "mortals; perhaps the very lowest of all rational "beings in the whole scale of creation; but by any "finite and subordinate creatures whatsoever." As to the first suggestion, where, I beseech you, is the absurdity in believing that some creatures *shall* be coeternal, that is, of equal continuance in being, as to all future duration, with God himself? Does this make them in any manner to equal or rival God? or put them in a state independent of him? By no means; it was he who *created* them *immortal, and made* them *to be the images of his own eternity* [c]: and they are but images of it still. His is supreme and underived, extending both ways, (*a parte ante*, as well as *a parte post*,) from everlasting to everlasting. Theirs is only commensurate with all duration to come, depending all the while upon God, and subordinate to him, *who only*, in the supreme sense, *hath immortality*. What then is there amazing in such a coeternity, which reserves to God his divine

[b] See p. 23, 64, 75, 89.

[c] Wisd. ii. 23.

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prerogative, and makes no encroachment upon any perfection of the infinite and everlasting Creator [d]? There is no envy in God, that he should be jealous of his creatures approaching too near him. And they will ever, in their highest exaltation, be infinitely below him. And as there is no want of goodness in the Deity, so neither is there of power, to preserve them in being, and in the enjoyment of their virtuous happiness, to everlasting ages. There is no contradiction in the nature of the thing; it is a real object of power, is what may be done: and, taking all the divine perfections into consideration, it is reasonable to think it certainly will. "No," says Mr. W. "it is too vast and immense a thing to be "expected, not only by us poor sinful mortals, but "by any creatures whatsoever." Here he seems to rest the point upon the incapacity of the creature. But why reasonable creatures, especially the most valuable, excellent, and noble of all God's creatures, may not expect the privilege of immortality, when they consider the nature of God, the declarations of his will, the constitution of their own na-

[d] To what purpose, or with what consistency, does Mr. Whiston heap up texts and testimonies of scripture, for ten or a dozen pages together, to magnify the goodness, compassion, and tender mercies of God towards his creatures? this gloomy hypothesis of final universal destruction defaces all. What can be said worse of the wisdom and goodness of the Deity, what can represent his character in a more unamiable light, than saying that he will at last destroy the noblest works of his own hands, *the general assembly and church of the firstborn, the spirits of just men made perfect*, and the *innumerable company of angels, that stand round about his throne;* (not to go any higher;) because otherwise they would be coeternal with himself; and that "is too vast "and immense a thing" for them to expect?

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ture, and the moral fitness and reason of things, I cannot imagine. If they will not expect what God has, in all these ways, given them reason to expect, this is not an argument of their humility, but of their baseness: they *reject the counsel of God against themselves*, and *judge themselves unworthy* and incapable *of everlasting life*. As for our being "poor, "imperfect, and sinful mortals," it should have been remembered, that whatever we are at present, *it does not yet appear what we shall be*[e]; only we know that the time will come, when *this corruptible* shall *put on incorruption, and this mortal* shall *put on immortality*[f]. *And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he* (God) *is pure*. It is much to be lamented that Mr. Whiston should weaken this motive; and, in his zeal to reform the present systems of faith, should make such cruel inroads, not only into the doctrine of the gospel, but into natural religion itself, as to deny the immortality of the soul, and an everlasting state of retribution.

Since then men were throughly apprized of the fatal consequences of a wicked life, and not only had it in their power, but were encouraged and invited, by the promises of *an exceeding and eternal weight of glory*, to avoid them; it follows, that if they do incur these punishments, they incur them voluntarily, and as the effect of their own choice and option. The meaning of this is not that men choose misery or evil, especially eternal misery, as such; for so considered, it can be the object of no choice. Were eternal happiness and misery proposed to men's option abstractedly in themselves,

[e] 1 John iii. 2, 3. [f] 1 Cor. xv. 53.

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not clogged with any terms or conditions whatsoever, they must certainly, in a popular manner of speaking, choose the former. But truly and properly there would be no choice at all, as that implies any thing of difficulty or trial, or moral merit in choosing the good part. This, therefore, in the very nature and reason of things, cannot be the case in a state of probation; in which God *tries* or *proves* his creatures, that he may know (that is, that it may be known, that it may plainly appear) what is in their hearts, and how they will act. And if this cannot be the case, what constitution of things would you expect, or require, to answer this purpose, but such an one as we actually find in fact? In which, things are so contrived, good and evil, natural and moral, are so mixed and adjusted, that men are by no means necessitated to choose either the one or the other; but are left to such a free exercise of their liberty, in the determination of their elections, as renders them strictly of moral consideration. A state of happiness or misery, immutable and final, is fairly proposed to them; that is, they really have their choice of them; not immediately and absolutely, without any conditions, but as depending on the choice how they will lead their lives. It is too little to say, that in forming this most important election they are entirely free; they are, moreover, excited to form it right, by all the motives and arguments which can influence the hearts of reasonable creatures. No expedient, one may say, has been left unattempted, but all engines have been set to work, to induce them to choose *that good part, which shall not be taken away from* them [8]. It is on this footing that

[8] Luke x. 42.

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the scriptures always represent men's destruction, as proceeding from themselves: they sow to themselves in wickedness, and they reap the fruit of their own elections. How can this be prevented? They must not be deprived of this elective power, and rendered incapable of either virtue or vice. And the nature of things cannot be so destroyed or confounded, as to hinder the consequences from taking place, or to make them reap what they did not sow. I add further, that

The misery which they thus bring upon themselves, so far from supposing God to delight in cruelty and barbarity, ("the most savage cruelty and "barbarity possible [h],") is inflicted by him, or rather is executed in the natural consequences of things, without any emotions of anger, rage, or fury; but as the effect of justice, and wisdom, and goodness itself; and therefore fixes no imputation of cruelty, injustice, or tyranny upon God. The punishments are in no sense or degree the effects of malice, revenge, or a tyrannical humour, or of any passions whatsoever; (none of which are in God;) so that there is no reason to suspect that they will be excessive or unjust, or beyond what reason and truth require. The Letter Writer, whom I mentioned before, insists upon this principle, and thinks it of advantage to his cause. "If divine justice," he says [i],

[h] Mr. Whiston, p. 137.

[i] Letter I. What he here says about "millions of creatures" is agreeable to his constant manner of representing the case. The miserable are always with him "myriads," and the like; in comparison of whom the blessed in heaven are but a "handful of "men," a "small number of the elect:" in which representation there is no sense.

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" is not really attended, either with hatred, fury, or " revenge, but is inseparable from infinite goodness; " can we conceive it will condemn millions of crea- " tures, formed after God's image, to dreadful and " never-ending misery; and even doom them to the " hatred of God, to rage, to despair, and blasphemy " for all eternity?" This writer should have considered, that "divine justice," which "is inseparable " from infinite goodness," and which he compares to " a perfectly equal balance, which inclines to one " side only by the force of the weight put into one " scale," being, on the "supposition," entirely free from all passion, could condemn them, at first [k], to nothing but what was just and right: and as there was nothing done in the first allotment of their state but what was just and right, justice can see no reason to alter it, any more than the balance can alter its determination while the weight continues as it did before. If their punishment was the result of passion, it might alter; for what is more changeable than passion? But when it proceeds from immutable principles, the infinite perfections of God, and the eternal reasons of things, it will be as im-

[k] The Judge of the world will say to the wicked at the last day, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire*, &c. *And they shall go away into everlasting punishment.* We agree that neither this sentence, nor the execution of it, is the effect of passion. Can this be of any advantage to his cause? Can there be any reason to reverse a sentence, pronounced so righteously? Or to put a stop to the execution of what is awarded by pure justice and truth itself, without the mixture of any passion, or wrong bias, whatsoever? The only way, by which any release or relief can come, must be by their amendment; which I have said something to already, and must consider more minutely in the next chapter, when I come to examine this author's system of the restoration.

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mutable as they are; unless the reason of the case (the weight in the scale) should be altered, by a change of the moral character of the creatures concerned; which we have no reason to expect. But this author, by an odd confusion of ideas, at the same time that he is supposing no passions in God, seems to represent him as if he acted passionately, and "doomed" his creatures to a more "dreadful" state of misery than they deserved, or than divine justice, which is inseparable from infinite goodness, will permit. Upon this supposition it is reasonable to presume, that when his passion abated, or his revenge was gratified, he would contrive some method to relieve them; but this is by no means the case. Nor is the author consistent with himself, when he represents "divine justice" as "dooming them to the ha-"tred of God," &c. For in the paragraph immediately before, he goes so far as to say, "The torments "it seems to inflict upon sinners do not proceed "from justice, but from themselves, who *lay up* "*treasures of wrath*, Rom. ii. They alone feed the "*worm* that must gnaw them, and pile up com-"bustible materials for the *fire* that must burn "them." It is certain that it was not God, but themselves, who were the cause of their "hatred of "God:" and if this which was their crime, continues to be their punishment, it is no more than what is agreeable to the constitution of things, and the appointment of Providence, which makes sin the punishment of itself.

When these considerations are laid together, and are allowed their due weight, without prejudice or passion; nothing more, I conceive, will be needful to defend our doctrine, or make it appear consistent

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with reason: for that, it is to be remembered, is the point in view; not to prove it from reason, but to reconcile it with it, and with our natural notions of God's perfections. The proper proof arises from the scriptures; to them we appealed, and by them we must be determined; provided only that the case be not, in the very nature of it, incapable of proof, by being plainly absurd, or contradictory to some clear principle of reason. This, I think, is not the case of the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment. It appears to be consistent at least with reason; and if reason does not gainsay or contradict it, and scripture asserts and teaches it, we can reasonably ask no more[1]. The latter of these points is considered in the two former chapters, and the first in the present. If the principles laid down be true, I think they are sufficient to justify the conduct of Providence on this head. And our adversaries themselves, one or other of them, bear testimony to the truth of all, or most of them; as might be proved, if that was necessary, from their own plain concessions. Even the first, which is as it were the pillar and ground of all, is allowed by Mr. Whiston; and must, in consistency with themselves, by all who are in the hypothesis of annihilation: because it cannot be conceived that God would annihilate any intelligent beings, if they were good for any thing, or capable of being made better.

[1] This makes it very different from the case of transubstantiation, with which our adversaries affect to compare it. See Burnet, p. 302. Whiston, p. 2. Transubstantiation is plainly contrary to sense and reason, and is built upon one figurative expression of scripture: the doctrine here asserted is not contrary to sense or reason, is taught in variety of plain expressions, and countenanced by the whole tenor of scripture.

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It is possible therefore for them to become, in the moral sense of the expression, *salt that hath lost its savour*[m]; incorrigibly and incurably wicked; and, beyond all recovery, utterly depraved for ever.

The objections against this doctrine are founded chiefly upon mistakes concerning it; and men are prejudiced against it, because it is not fairly represented to them. Sometimes it is pretended that men are damned for temptations which they could not avoid, or for infirmities which they could not help; in short, for any thing, rather than their own wilful wickedness, and their own impenitent hearts. Every thing is raked together, to lessen, and in a manner, to annihilate the guilt of human wickedness. Yet sin is of ill desert; and if there be any thing that can make sin itself become *more exceeding sinful*, it is all included in Christian sin, as the gospel contains the whole counsel of God, in the dispensation of Jesus Christ, to prevent it. Sometimes our doctrine is represented as if it supposed God to delight in cruelty and barbarity, as damning his creatures by acts of power and dominion, without any regard to mercy, or even justice. Whereas it supposes no such thing; but, on the contrary, that he did every thing that became his character to save them; that they destroyed themselves, and reap the fruit of their own doings, unavoidably, and in the natural consequences of things. He has no delight in their sufferings, which he would have prevented; but that, though they are contrary to his original design, he can make them serve to no good purpose, can bring no good out of this evil, is more than ought to be said, because it is a great deal more

[m] See Num. XXXVIII.

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than can be proved. It is pretended that this constitution of things, in which so many of his creatures become finally miserable, is inconsistent with the justice, and wisdom, and goodness of God: foreseeing that so many of them would miscarry, he had better have laid aside his scheme, and desisted from creating them. But it should be considered, whether this would not restrain God from creating any free beings at all; for it is not liberty enjoyed only in such a degree, or such a situation as men are placed in, that may be abused, but beings of another order, and placed in different circumstances, may equally pervert it; and fall by that means from their *first estate, into the condemnation of the Devil.* It is evident, that let what numbers you please miscarry, if this was so far from being necessary, or what they were unavoidably and fatally subjected to, that they had a fair and free choice of everlasting happiness, (the same which even they had who actually partake of it,) there can be no injustice done them, nothing inconsistent with the justice of God. And his wisdom and goodness, we may be confident, can contrive no scheme, but what, upon the whole, it will be much better to execute than to lay aside. The good will be much greater than the evil, and happiness finally, and upon the whole, vastly prepollent. Must this scheme then be defeated, because some of the individuals, it is foreseen, will make themselves miserable, and, with regard to them merely, it were good if the scheme had been dropped? But this cannot come to pass without their own most unreasonable perverseness; and shall that defeat so glorious a design? Surely I may venture to say, without any danger or imputation of rash-

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ness, that it is consistent with every perfection in God to create free beings, (angels or men,) though he foresees some of them will make themselves so miserable, that with reference merely to their single case, it had been better if they had not been created. But to blacken our doctrine more, and render it more odious, the numbers of those who miscarry, in comparison of such as are saved, are magnified sometimes beyond all the bounds of reason and truth. I have had occasion to take notice of this more than once already [n]. But I would here ask, upon what scripture, reason, or experience, this representation is founded? The question, *Are there few that be saved?* was once put to our Lord himself, Luke xiii. 23. But he declined giving any direct answer to a matter of such curiosity, in which the querist had no concern. He thought it of more consequence to give them this useful admonition, *Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.* That is, I suppose, because they sought only, and did not *strive;* or did not *strive lawfully*, seeking to enter by undue means, or when it was too late: for the miscarriage, I presume, must be charged upon themselves, or else it would be but a poor encouragement to others to *strive to enter in.* And indeed it appears clearly from the subsequent verses that this was the case: these *seekers* have nothing to plead in their behalf, but some external advantages, or relation; but were *workers of iniquity*, when they should have been *working out their salvation;* and apply for admission after *the master of the house hath shut to the door.* However, though these are

[n] See Numbers VI. and XX.

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excluded, (and very justly,) our Lord declares that others shall come from all quarters of the world, *from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God*, ver. 29. Our Lord had given the same admonition in his sermon on the mount, Matt. vii. 13, 14. enforced, as some may think, with a plainer and more full declaration, that *few*, in comparison, will be finally saved: *Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* Here, indeed, seems to be an express declaration, that *few* only find the narrow way that leadeth unto *life*, while *many* go in the broad one that leadeth to *destruction*: and if these words refer to the final determination at the day of judgment, with regard to all mankind, the dispute, as to this point, is fairly at an end. But they appear plainly to be only a declaration of what was the state of the world, and the practice of mankind, in our Saviour's own time. It was not usual with him, nor agreeable to his manner of instruction, to meddle with points of so curious and high a nature as the former; and decide, as it were, the fate of the Christian world, before it was born. And if he would give no direct answer to the querist in St. Luke, is it likely, that here, in his public doctrine, he would tell all that heard him, that far the greatest part of those who should hereafter believe in him would finally be damned? But he might properly enough take notice of a matter of fact, the wickedness and infidelity of the Jews at

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that time. He was himself *the door* and *the way* that led to life, and few of the Jews went in thereat, or found it. One great reason of this is intimated in the very next verse; *Beware of false prophets, which come to you*, &c.; of these our Lord says, ver. 20. *By their fruits ye shall know them.* That is, as I understand it, not so much by their bad lives, (for possibly they might make a very specious appearance in their *sheep's clothing*,) as by the immoral tendency, the natural pernicious consequences and effects, of their principles and doctrines. Thus, for instance, if they taught that men might be saved without virtue and holiness, upon the account of their being of this or that sect or party, of this or the other profession of religion, the posterity of such a patriarch, or the followers of such a prophet; the natural consequence of this, being destructive of the practice of virtue and true religion, would make it evident, that, whatever they appeared to be, they were in reality *false prophets.* Thus therefore our Lord goes on, ver. 21. *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven:* no external profession, no relation to Christ, the Son of God himself, will avail any thing, without *doing the will of his Father which is in heaven.* Then follows, ver. 22, a key to the whole; *Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?* The plea is more frivolous in St. Luke, but proceeds upon the same bottom;—*We have eaten and drunk in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our streets*, chap. xiii. 26. From which it is plain, that, in both places, our Lord had

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in his eye the case of that age; and has determined nothing about the question, whether *few*, out of the whole Christian world, will be saved at the last day.

And if he has not determined it here, I am not aware that either he or his apostles have done it in any other passage of the New Testament. There is a most magnificent description, Apoc. vii. of the number of the blessed; where, after the *sealing* of the *hundred and forty and four thousand* out of the *tribes of Israel*, the apostle adds, ver. 9. *After this, I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.* The Letter Writer above never thought, I presume, of this passage, when he every where represents those that shall be saved, as "a handful of men, a small number of the "elect." As scripture gives us no warrant for such a conclusion, so neither does reason or experience. One half of our species die, perhaps, before they have actually committed any sin to deserve *the damnation of hell;* and therefore, by the mercy of God, and the merits of his Son, it may be reasonably hoped that they will escape it. And as to the rest, whoever thus damns the majority must say that the far greater number of the Christian world, in all ages of it, lived and died impenitently wicked; a point which I find myself in no disposition, at present, either to confute or believe.

These are some of the misrepresentations of our doctrine on which prejudices are raised, and objec-

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tions formed against it. Another thing, always mentioned on this subject, is the shortness of human life; the sins of which can bear no proportion to punishments of endless duration [o]. Now suppose human life as long as it was in the beginning, almost a thousand years, the plea of disproportion would still subsist; for even a thousand years bear no proportion to the days of eternity. And yet I suppose a moral agent, in a state of probation, may behave in such a manner, in much less time than that, as to affect his whole future existence. He

[o] See this objection largely considered in archbishop Dawes's seventh Sermon, p. 232—240. "I hardly know where the stress "of this objection is laid; whether on the shortness of the pre- "sent term of life, or on this, that no temporary sins, of whatso- "ever duration, ought to be punished with eternal torments. But "take both; as thus——It is unjust and cruel to punish tempo- "rary sins with eternal misery, and it is more unjust, and more "cruel, so to punish the sins of our short life: still, I say, if the "considerations offered above be true, the objection is fully an- "swered by them. It was best upon the whole, that is, greater "good was produced by it, that God should establish the present "system, or constitution of things, than the contrary. Agreeably "to this constitution, such certain consequences will follow such "a course of behaviour. Men knew this; they were forewarned "of it; nay, they were entreated, invited, pressed by all sorts of "motives, to take another course. Still they persist, and die in "their sins. Death does not convert them, nor change their "wills; they continue the same evil beings; and though the acts "of corruption (I use the terms of a distinction made use of by "the Letter Writer) may be restrained in them, yet the source of "it, or corruption itself, still remains. This is one natural source "of their eternal misery; and, in this sense, their sin is as eternal "as their punishment; that by refusing to repent during their "probation, while they had liberty and power to do so, they have "brought themselves into a state, where repentance is hid from "their eyes."

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may forfeit, irretrievably, that state of happiness, to which another course of behaviour would have entitled him; and he must take the consequences of that other state, which he has fitted himself for, and into which he departs by a sort of natural congruity. Here then some of the principles we laid down in the former part of this chapter come into play. If a character be formed incurably evil, where is the difference whether it was done in a little or a long time? If it be said, that if he had lived longer, he might have repented; it is as easily answered, that this is arguing in the dark. And we have at least as much reason to say, that it was an act of mercy to take him away soon, that he might not *treasure up* to himself a greater degree of misery. But I conceive these things are rather above our sphere, and that human ignorance is answer enough to any objections which proceed only upon difficulties of this kind. We know, in general, that when the term of life was longer, men were far from being the better for it; and that the shortness, as well as uncertainty of life, is an argument to lead men to repentance. But that all futurity should depend upon this short life, our adversaries tell us, is the hardship: and yet they are at a loss to tell us how it should be otherwise. Those of them who are for retrieving matters in the intermediate state, are confuted by others, who shew that that state is not calculated for the practice of virtue or vice, so as that they may change the habits of the one or the other, with which they left this world. Besides, it is contrary to the scripture; which always makes the sentence at the last day turn upon men's conduct here, and

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the actions which they did *in the body* [p]. And they who are for amendment in hell are likewise contradicted by their fellow-labourers, who say, (and they say truly,) that in gehenna, or hell, there is no repentance.

Thus far, in conclusion, I am willing to own to them; that whenever the wicked repent truly, so as to change their dispositions and temper, it will, in the nature of things, be the better for them. For a virtuous temper is not only a foundation for happiness, but is itself a considerable part of it. But then, at the same time, even upon this (which is their own) supposition of reformation, it will not follow that they will be made partakers of that happiness, and that heavenly kingdom, which they were shut out of at the day of judgment. No; some privileges, some opportunities, once lost, may be lost for ever. So that still much depends upon this life, short as it is: so that I cannot forbear thinking that this disproportion, so much talked of, is a very fallacious rule to judge by in this momentous affair.

I shall not here more minutely pursue any other particular objections. They are all obviated, I conceive, by what has been said; or may be answered by a right application of the principles discussed above. They are in a great measure answered only by a fair representation of our doctrine, as they mostly proceed from mistakes concerning it. When understood rightly, and considered without prejudice or passion, men have less to say against it than they imagined. It is implied in the very notion of

[p] See Burnet de Statu Mort. cap. iv. omnino.

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religion, that a distinction will some time be made between the righteous and the wicked. This distinction will be made solemnly and perfectly at the day of judgment; when the righteous shall enter into that kingdom of glory and happiness, which was prepared for them from the beginning of the world; *and the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment*, or *into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels*. So far as relates to the mere exclusion of the wicked out of the kingdom of the just, there surely can be no reasonable ground of complaint. It can be no state of a perfect and righteous retribution without it. Then as to the degrees of positive punishment which they will suffer, they will be various, and exactly proportioned to their deserts. For though they are bid to *depart into the everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels;* yet the meaning of that is not, (as perhaps it may sound to some,) that they all suffer alike, as it were in one common furnace of fire, in the same invariable and extreme degree; but, as is plain from many other passages of scripture, as well as from reason itself, every one bears his own burden, suffers for his own sin, and in proportion to it; has the measure of punishment which he meted out to himself, and reaps only what he sowed; so that it will be much more tolerable for some than for others. The scripture never represents this state of misery as a state of purgation or purification, or any thing like or analogous to a state of trial, where they may fit and qualify themselves for some better state of existence: but always as a state of retribution, and punishment, and righteous vengeance; in which the justice of God (a perfection of which

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some men seem to make no account) vindicates the honour of his majesty, his government, and laws, by punishing those who have despised and trampled upon them all. Here scripture closes the scene, and shuts out all hope or prospect of redemption or deliverance. But vain men, affecting to appear wiser or better than God, have taken upon them to teach, without any warrant from his word, that to the damned also shall sometime be given the *knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins* [q]. What they have to offer for this scheme, and how well they defend it, I am to consider more distinctly in the next chapter.

[q] Luke i. 77.

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CHAP. IV.

Concerning the system of the restoration, or reestablishment.

I HAVE hitherto been employed in maintaining our own tenets; I must now advance, as it were, into the enemy's country, and examine how they defend theirs. If the punishment of the wicked in the other world is ever to have an end, it must be because they are either delivered from it, and restored to a state of happiness, or else because they are reduced to nothing. As there are two ways then by which this change may be effected, I desire the patrons of a restoration to consider, in the first place, that though they could disprove our doctrine, yet that does by no means directly prove their own. Supposing for once that eternal punishment is unjust and impossible, it does not thereby follow that the punishment in hell will be exchanged for a state of happiness; for it may end in a state of neither happiness nor misery, viz. total extinction of being. We expect therefore direct and positive proofs from scripture or reason, of their system of the reestablishment, over and above what they offer against the doctrine of eternal torments. They raise a great clamour against this doctrine, how unjust and cruel it is, and how inconsistent with the perfections of God! Be it so; it is still incumbent upon them to prove, beyond this, that the perfections of God require of him, not only that he put an end to their misery, but that he restore them to happiness and his favour; or, at least, that this is agreeable to his perfections, and what may reasonably be expected

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from them, or what he has declared in his word. If this had always been considered by some particular writers, some very pathetical declamations perhaps might have been spared, as being rather beside the purpose, and not at all coming up to the point. However, to give them their due, some of them do offer at something like proper proof, and such as we want; which shall be considered presently.

In the mean time, before we hear their evidence, it may be proper we should know, as precisely as we can, what it is they would prove; for they do not all adopt the same system, I mean in the same extensive sense. I mentioned St. Jerom, in a note before [a], as making an exception in favour of Christians, at the same time that he professes to believe that the torments of the Devil, and of such wicked men as *say in their hearts there is no God*, will be eternal. But as this seems to be the effect only of a fond partiality, natural enough to men for those of their own sect [b], I am not aware that any one now

[a] See Num. XXVI.

[b] Thus the Jews had a saying, *Omnis Israel particeps erit futuri seculi:* and for the meaning of this *seculum futurum*, see Menasseh Ben-Israel, de Resurrect. Mort. lib. iii. c. 1. So the followers of Mohammed say——"Those who have lived in this holy "faith, and die in the belief thereof, shall undergo the purgation, "and when it shall be God's pleasure, shall be released by the in- "tercession of his prophet, or through his benignity and cle- "mency; nor shall it come to pass that any of those shall remain "to eternity in hell, who have believed and professed, without "scruple or doubt, that *there is no God but Allah, and that Mu- "hammat is the messenger of Allah:* and those who in this life "hold not that tenet, nor believe therein, shall remain in hell for "ever, where, in company with the devils, (accursed may they "be,) they shall be tortured with many sorts of torments." *Motraye's Travels*, vol. i. in the Appendix, p. 355.

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will undertake formally to defend it. It would be strange, if wicked Christians should come off better than any other wicked men, or be less affected by the sanctions of the gospel. But then, if we may not limit this system of a restoration to men of our own religion, must it not however be limited to creatures of our own species? or must we take in the Devil and his angels? I conceive a genuine and consistent Origenist must take in all, if he would not ruin his own scheme; all beings, with him, must sooner or later return to order; and there must be an universal restoration, or none. For if he grants that one race of free creatures may render themselves incurably wicked and miserable, beyond all help and remedy, this may open a gap for such a train to follow, as will go near to blow up the ground on which he stands. For if angels may become eternally miserable, then, as to the possibility of the thing, why not men? and if it be consistent with the perfections of God to permit the former, why not the latter? Besides, the *whole work* of God is not restored; the *old leaven of malice and wickedness*, of natural and moral evil, is still supposed to be eternally fermenting in a considerable portion of the creation; when it was, I conceive, the Origenist's point to prove, that, *behold, all things are become new*; or rather, are restored to their original rectitude and goodness. They must therefore, to be consistent, hold an universal restoration of men and devils; and this is in fact what they do maintain[c].

[c] See a Letter of Resolution concerning Origen and the chief of his opinions, 4to. p. 74. and 130, 131. And the Letter Writer, mentioned before, in his 288, &c. page.

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Thus much for the extent and universality of this restoration; but,

We have still a question or two to ask with regard to the nature of it: Must the devils be restored to the angelic dignity of their first estate, and repossess the habitation which they left? and must men be made partakers of that *kingdom of heaven*, out of which they were excluded at the day of judgment? or must both be content with such a share of happiness, somewhere or other, as will make their condition more eligible than nonexistence? These are different things, and the proof of one does not necessarily prove the other. If the justice or goodness of God requires the latter, viz. that their existence be better than not being; do both, or either of them, require the former too? Surely he is not obliged to give them supreme felicity, and to make them altogether the same that they would have been, if they had never offended. Yet the authors just referred to sometimes seem to talk in this strain, and their terms of *restitution*, *restoration*, *reestablishment*, &c. in the rigour of them, may imply it. However, to prevent unnecessary dispute, we will content ourselves with saying, in general, that the beings concerned, so far from subsisting for ever in a state of condemnation and misery in hell, will be restored to happiness (more or less) and the favour of God. I still want to be satisfied, whether this passage from misery to happiness is to be immediate. Is their purification or reformation (call it what you will) to be begun in hell? or, if begun, is it likewise to be completed there; so that they may go directly into a state of happiness? or, after they have suffered so

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much punishment as the justice of God, or the reason of things, or their own case required, (for these men look upon all punishment as curative,) are they to go into some other state of probation, and take their chance once more (or more properly have another option) for happiness or misery? The author of the Letter concerning Origen lays down his master's doctrine, as to this point, as follows: "I come "now," says he, p. 71. "to the father's fifth opinion, "which is this, that after long periods of time the "damned shall be delivered from their torments, "and try their fortunes again in such regions of the "world, as their nature and present disposition fits [d]

[d] So again, p. 80. "But whether their release be by any change "wrought in the disposition of their spirits, but without death, or "whether by an escape, as it were by dying to the body so tor-"tured, there is no doubt to be made but that both ways they "may come into play again, and try their fortunes once more in "such regions of the world as Providence judges fit for them." Here we see this ingenious writer does not determine, whether their release will be by death, or without it; whether in the body or out of the body; but be it as it may, they "are to come into "play again, and try their fortunes once more." In the next page he asks, "What should hinder but that these punished souls, "whom long vexing pain drove from all commerce with matter, "and cast them into a senseless sleep, will after their long inac-"tivity awake again into life and action?" According to which representation, the scheme seems to be this; viz. that their punishment or pain will be so violent, that it will not only separate the soul from the body, "from all commerce with matter," but also cast it into a "senseless sleep," a state of insensibility; that after a "long inactivity" in this state, it will "awake again," and being vitally united to matter, come into "play again, and try its "fortune once more," in another state of probation. I would here only ask, whether, after this "senseless sleep" and "long inacti-"vity," they are to remember any thing that passed before it? We at present have forgot every thing, both what we were, and

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"them for." This appears to imply, that they by no means as yet obtain their rest and reward; but are first to pass through some future trials, and be again exposed to the risk of another damnation. For there can be no such thing in any state of trial, as an infallible security against miscarriage. There must be free agency, a possibility of sin, and some temptations to it. And, if these prevail again, the consequence must be another judgment, and another state of punishment. And of these revolutions and vicissitudes, as well as of such reveries and wild conjectures concerning them, there is no end.

But it will be said, perhaps, that this was a singularity of Origen's, which the modern advocates of a restoration do not think themselves obliged to defend. Then, I conceive, they must defend what I am going to mention, viz. that their reformation is wrought in hell itself, so that they immediately pass from the torments of that place into a state of happiness. This, however, is not easily conceivable: that does not seem a proper place for such a work. The Letter Writer has taken notice of this, and put the objection himself. "It is hard to conceive how "a state of blasphemy and despair, such as that of "the damned is represented, should be proper to pu- "rify and reestablish them in virtue and bliss[e]." And whether he has answered it, in the dissertation

what we did, in our preexistent state, according to Origen's hypothesis of preexistence. If the case be the same with them, what they suffered for their ill conduct in their former probation, will have no influence on their behaviour in their future.

[e] At the end of Letter V. N. B. By the Letter Writer I always mean, the author of the Letters translated out of French; not the author of the Letter of Resolution concerning Origen.

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that follows it, I leave others to judge. At present I must pass on: and to be as brief as I can in these preliminaries, I say, that this restoration must be effected in some or other of these ways. They must either be restored all together at the same time, by a sort of general release, and that too immediately, or to a state of happiness without any intervening probation: or they must all together, and at the same time, be placed in another state of probation; (where their final happiness will still be in suspense;) or every individual must be put into a new state of trial, or into a state of happiness, singly and by himself, at his own time, and as his own case requires: or some only must undergo a new trial, while others go immediately into happiness; and this again in companies, or singly, according to what each one's condition, character, and temper fits him for. Then, those that have bodies must either leave them behind them, by dying as it were again, or bring them with them into their new place or state of existence.

In all these points, though it be none of my business to reconcile them, it were to be wished that our restorers would come to some good agreement. Each of these ways, I conceive, has its difficulties; and, if any one was fixed on, we might then argue the case on that particular hypothesis. As they are, however, they may serve to shew, that the case is not so very clear as some may think it. It is easy to talk of a restoration; but when we come to consider more particularly the ways and means and methods by which it must be effected in the complicated case of wicked men and devils, it turns out a very intricate affair, and will require some proof, much clearer than its

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own intrinsic evidence, to support it. However, to proof, direct and positive proof, every thing must give way. And, if such can be produced in the case before us, we will readily admit it, notwithstanding any difficulties in the thing itself.

The proofs then of this great point, a restoration in general, are fetched either from reason, (or as the Letter Writer loves to express himself, "immutable "truths,") or from scripture. I shall begin with the latter, that I may not be demolished at first by attacking their main strength, which they are sensible does not lie in the word of God. Some of them hardly pretend to allege scripture-evidence in the point; but the Letter Writer has supplied that defect, and placed his proofs of this kind in very orderly array. They follow in his own words;—

"One of the chief of them is drawn from the in-"carnation of Jesus Christ, and the design of his "coming.

"A second, from the many positive declarations "wherewith the scriptures abound, *That God will* "*not always chide, nor keep his anger for ever.*

"A third is taken from the numerous prophetical "promises agreeing with these first proofs." (Letter II.)

Now as to the first of these topics, the "incarnation "of Jesus Christ," it does not affect the Devil and his angels; and therefore whatever force it may have with regard to mankind, still one race of God's creatures are left unprovided for: *For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham.* Or rather, as it is in the margin of our Bibles, *He taketh not hold of angels,* (to relieve or restore them,) *but of the seed of Abra-*

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ham he taketh hold: Heb. ii. 16. But passing by this, how is the argument from the incarnation managed with regard to mankind? Why, says our author in the first place, "Christ has thereby *ennobled* "*all human nature*, and become the brother of "mankind; which single thought might be sufficient "to make us presume that none of that race, whose "nature God assumed, shall perish eternally." To which I answer, first, that whatever we might have "presumed," if we had had no declarations to the contrary, it is great folly to presume so now, when we are assured in almost every page of the gospel, that notwithstanding the incarnation of Christ, we may still bring ourselves into the condemnation of the Devil. 2. The more Christ has "ennobled our "nature," the more inexcusable are they who defile and deprave it; and who, instead of being sensible of such an honour, and such obligations, throw them all behind them, and trample as it were the divine Author of them under foot. 3. Admitting that Christ is, in some sense, "become the brother of "mankind," yet he himself hath taught us, in effect, that mere natural relation will avail nothing, Matt. xii. 48. Something more is required to make us *heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ.* This may obviate what the author suggests in a note about the relation between man and the divinity, as man is not only "the work of God," but also "his race or "offspring;" which he says is "a very strong proof "on this occasion." And indeed if it be any proof at all, it comes home to the point of an universal restoration: for no doubt those *sons of the morning* who fell *from heaven*, were the "race or offspring" of God, as well as men. But I take the liberty to

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repeat that bare relations signify nothing, but to aggravate the guilt of those who are insensible of them. Because wicked spirits and wicked men were originally the "race or offspring" of God, must he therefore make them happy whether they will or no? Must he invert order? change the nature of things? make good evil, and evil good? No; the author will allow this is neither reasonable nor possible. Nor is it reasonable or possible upon such terms, for Christ to save all the individuals who partake of that nature, which he condescended to assume. In a word, it does by no means follow, that because Christ was pleased to be made man, therefore all men will at last be saved. But if this be a truth, one may expect to meet with some footsteps of it, somewhere or other, in scripture; and it will appear, though not merely from the nature or fact of the incarnation, yet from the open, avowed, and declared design of it. "Yes, yes," continues the author, "the scriptures "every where declare, that Jesus Christ came *to* "*save all men*; and this is repeated in almost every "page of the New Testament." But,

Does the scripture every where, or any where, declare, that all men will, in the event, be actually saved? Nothing like it. On the contrary, the scripture itself distinguishes in the case; by teaching us, that though Christ came to make the offers of salvation to all men, yet he becomes, in the event, *the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him:* Heb. v. 9. The reason is, that Christ came with no absolute design of saving all men, whether they would or not; whether they would or would not believe in him, and obey him; (such a design is absurd and impossible in the nature of things, and

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can be entertained by no wise being;) but he offers, as the author says, *all men the grace necessary to salvation;* and if they will make use of it, and comply with his terms, he will actually, in due time, confer upon them *the gift of eternal life.* This indeed is his "positive will, which sooner or later will "have its effect." And his design of saving *all men* was far from being only "a bare wish" that they might be saved; since it was a real offer of salvation, upon the same terms that it was tendered to those who actually partake of it: *Why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn* yourselves, *and live ye*[f]. Is this only "a bare wish" that they would not die? or does it not imply, that God had done every thing on his part, and that became his character to do? Which yet in the event might prove ineffectual, and iniquity still be their ruin. But enough of this: "Let "us come to something more particular."

"Jesus Christ came to restore all things, of which "mention is made, Acts iii. But if he saves only a "small number, all things are so far from being re-"stored, that there would be but a handful so fa-"voured, whilst the multitude would continue eter-"nally in disorder and desolation." Here, omitting his old fallacy of "a small number," and "a hand-"ful," &c. nothing can be more impertinently applied to a restoration of the damned, *after* the day of judgment, than this scripture; which speaks plainly of a *restitution* (whatever that may mean) *at* the day of judgment, or Christ's *second* coming. *Repent ye therefore, and be converted,* says the apo-

[f] Ezek. xviii. 31, 32.

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stle, ver. 19. *that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord;* ver. 20. *and he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you:* ver. 21. *whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* Unless therefore the wicked are to be restored at the same time that they are to be condemned, and at the same time that the righteous are to be refreshed, the *restitution* here mentioned must be a quite different thing from the restoration of the wicked in hell; which, I dare say, *God hath* not *spoken of by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.*

The author next dips into 1 Cor. xv. *as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive,* ver. 22. Where he spends the fire of his criticism to shew that *all* means *all men,* universally. But alas! the point he should have settled is the meaning of, *—shall be made alive. For since by man came death,* says the apostle, *by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.* The words are a plain proof of an universal resurrection; and that is all. The restoration is still left in the lurch. All *shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation,* John v. 28, 29. He thinks the apostle " speaks of another future period, which " he calls *the end,* 1 Cor. xv. 24. *And then the end* " *shall come, when he shall have delivered up the*

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"*kingdom to God, even the Father.*" Whereas *the end* is not another future period, but the very period of the resurrection and general judgment. By the decisions then made, an [g] end will be put to Christ's mediatorial kingdom; as he will have brought *many sons unto glory*, (all that were fit for it,) and have *put all enemies under his feet.* He may then deliver up the kingdom which he administered as Messias, or Mediator, because the purposes of it are accomplished. All the faithful are glorified, and all enemies are subdued. Then is *the end:* for he was but to *reign till he had put all enemies under his feet;* ver. 25. But this subjection, the author urges, must be voluntary; else it could never be spoken of as a thing to come; "because from the foundation of the world all things "are subject to him;" and if it be voluntary, there is no "more hell." As if the subjection of all enemies after the day of judgment, though far from being voluntary, will not be very different from what

[g] Since the writing of this, I have read Dr. Berriman's Discourse concerning the Perpetual Duration of the Kingdom of Christ, (in his Boyle's Lectures, serm. xii.) where, though he rejects the notion of the abrogation of Christ's mediatorial kingdom, yet he allows as much as I meant, either here or elsewhere, by saying, that "an end will be put to this kingdom," or that Christ will "deliver it up." I never intended by this, that this kingdom will be really abolished; but only that the present manner of administration, the acts and exercise of government, will be altered, and some of them cease; which is expressly asserted by this excellent writer, and is plain from the nature of the thing. Where the kingdoms are so different as the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory, the church militant and the church triumphant, the exercise of government must necessarily vary. But still Christ, the king of glory, presides in this kingdom; and will do so for evermore.

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it is at present. Wicked men and devils are always, in some sense, subject to God's overruling providence: it would be bad if they were not. But they would find (and that they know) another sort of subjection at the day of judgment; when God *will take to him his great power, and will reign*, by rendering to every one according to his works. His arguments to prove that by *death, the last enemy that shall be destroyed*, is not meant "temporal death," are surprising. His first is, because "after the coming of Christ, there is no room "for that death." Therefore, one would think, it is sufficiently destroyed; as there is "no room" for it to make new conquests, and its old subjects are rescued from it by the resurrection. But this death "is only termed *sleep*." And what then? If the death of the righteous, or death in general, be termed *sleep*, does that prove that St. Paul does not say that this death will be destroyed at the resurrection? It is called *death* much more frequently than it is called *sleep*, in the scripture, as is evident to every one who reads it without the author's *glasses*[h]. No, continues he, what the apostle "calls *death*, the "*great death*, 2 Cor. i. 10. is a separation from "God." Never was any point proved clearer! The *trouble which came to St. Paul in Asia*, which *pressed* him *out of measure, above strength, inso-*

[h] This alludes to the author's curious remarks upon the use of glasses, in his seventeenth Dialogue. The inhabitants of the gloomy kingdom (of the catacombs) have "an almost infinite va-"riety of glasses of all sorts."—"They have glasses well colour-"ed, which communicate the same colours to the object." Hence one sees *black*, where another sees *white*. Some perceive *mountains*, where others find only some *grains of sand*.

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much that he *despaired even of life*, his deliverance out of which, it is plain he calls, ver. 10, deliverance *from so great a death*, is brought to prove that death in scripture means a *mystical* death, "a sepa-"ration from God." His last argument is, that St. Paul ranks the death here spoken of "with the ene-"mies of God;" but temporal death "is an agent of "his power employed in executing his orders." As if the enemies of God may not be made, by his over-ruling wisdom, the agents, or instruments, of his providence and power. Certainly God made not death; *by man came death*, says the apostle; or, if we go one step higher, *through envy of the Devil came death into* the world. And as the Devil and sin, the great enemies of God, introduced it, it may truly be ranked with them. After some strange confused stuff, which he is led into by supposing falsely that St. Paul speaks of another future period, he fixes upon the words, 1 Cor. xv. 28. *that God may be all in all.* "They seem," he says, "irrefragably to prove "the abolition of sin and hell, and the restoration of "all the creatures. They would have no sense, if "hell torments were eternal. God can never be *all*, "*and in all*, but by restoring the order of things." What mysteries may be discovered, by the help of proper glasses, in a little expression; like millions of animalcula in a little water! When Christ (who likewise, St. Paul says, Col. iii. 11. *is all, and in all*) has *destroyed death, and him that hath the power of death, that is the Devil*, with all his party and adherents; when he has put down *all rule, authority, and power*, contrary to his own, and delivered up even his own delegated kingdom to God, surely God will be *all in all*: at least, this appears

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to be the sense in which St. Paul uses the expression here; though a certain other person can see no sense in it, unless hell torments likewise be ended. But the mere force of the expression implies no such thing, nor is any such sense required by the context, or course of the apostle's reasoning. It is ridiculous to think that if the Devil and his adherents are not restored, there will still be a kingdom opposite to God's; for hell is not at all their kingdom, but their place of punishment. "The only "kingdom of the Devil is the dominion of sin in "the present world." "This restoration of all the "creatures," proceeds the author, "is further con- "firmed by the exclamation of St. Paul, *O death,* "*where is thy sting*[1]? *O grave, where is thy vic-* "*tory?* If *death* and the *grave* have no other sting "but sin, and this sting must be destroyed; does it "not hence follow, that hell must be destroyed also? "Since it is certain, that if sin were killed in men, "there would be no more hell." This writer has a pleasant way of proving what is not denied, and leaving the point in dispute to shift for itself. "If sin "must be destroyed," quoth he, then, so and so. Could not he see that it was his business to prove,

[1] See Clarke's Exposition of the Catechism, p. 88. "We find "it in other translations," says he in his note, "*O hell, where is* "*thy victory?* Common sense should lead us to espouse this ver- "sion." But then, I fear, it would mislead us, if he means by hell the place of the punishment of the damned, as that word commonly does mean. And yet, on the other hand, it is not "the "piece of ground, where the dead body is laid," that is here intended: but it is hades, the place or state in which the soul abides, while the dead body is in the ground. Over this state of separation, and death which made it, St. Paul triumphs, in view of the resurrection.

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and not to suppose, that sin will be so destroyed, root and branch, in all creatures whatsoever, as to leave no room for any further punishment? Then indeed "there would be no more hell." But St. Paul's exclamation proves no such thing; the argument he is upon having nothing to do with the destruction of sin in gehenna, or hell, but only with the *victory* good Christians obtain, through Christ, over death, and sin, and hades, in the resurrection. What he suggests in a note, as if the *victory* here spoken of was not "in relation to the resurrection," is a flat contradiction to St. Paul's own words, 1 Cor. xv. 54. *When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.* Whether this resurrection "be an advantage to the "damned," or not, it is an inestimable one to the blessed; which is the case the apostle had in his thoughts, and is a very proper subject of triumph and exultation.

I sincerely think it would be time mispent to follow this critic in the rest of his allegations from scripture, so particularly as I have done hitherto. It will be enough barely to cite, or refer to them, and leave them without any comment to the judgment of the public. Coloss. i. 20. "Observe here," says he, "an universal reconciliation of all the creatures to "God." Now, not to remind him that there is a great difference between the offer of the terms of reconciliation on God's part, and the accepting of them on man's, the very words of the text are against him; unless by *things on earth, or things in hea-*

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ven [k], be understood also things in hell. "Jesus "Christ is called the *firstborn from the dead, and* "*the firstborn of every creature*, ver. 15, 18. And, "ver. 16, it is said, *that all things that were created* "*by him were also created for him.*" All which is very true, whether the doctrine of the restoration be so or not.

"In the first of Ephesians, the same truth is de- "clared. Ver. 9, 10. mention is made of *the mystery* "*of the will of God, which he had hitherto kept to* "*himself*; and what is this mystery? *To gather* "*together in one all things in Christ, both which* "*are in heaven and which are on earth, even in* "*him*; and when will he do this? *In the dispensa-* "*tion of the fulness of times*, that is to say, *when* "*all things shall be subjected to him, and he shall* "*be exalted above all principalities, and powers,* "*and dignities, and dominions, and above every* "*name that is named, both in this life and that* "*which is to come.*" Thus this excellent commentator! who might as well have undertaken to prove from these words that the restoration is past already. For if that is to happen when Christ is thus exalted, it must, according to St. Paul, have been accomplished long ago; God having long ago *raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in heavenly places, far above* all the powers and dignities mentioned before, *and hath put all things under his feet*, ver. 20, 21. "The same apo- "stle, in the 11th of the Romans, declares as great "a mystery, that those who before had rebelled

[k] For the meaning of which expression, see Dr. Chapman's Euseb. vol. ii. p. 317, &c.

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" against God, and been cut off because of their un-
" belief, should be again grafted in, and at last ob-
" tain mercy."

That is, because St. Paul speaks of the restoration or conversion of the Jews, who were then cut off because of unbelief, but might, if they did *not abide still in unbelief*, ver. 23. be *grafted in again;* therefore there will be an universal restoration of wicked men and devils after the day of judgment. Next, slightly mentioning Heb. ii. 9. that *Christ tasted death for all men;* and elsewhere, *that he is made the propitiation for the sins of the whole world;* and in the 2d of Philipp. *that every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus;* he adds, " I shall " only dwell a little on the last verses of the 5th of " Romans, that are very clear in this case; where " the apostle compares Jesus Christ to Adam, as " also the fruits we reap from each: *as by one man* " *sin entered into the world,*" &c. Upon which he argues thus, " *All were made sinners by Adam,* " therefore *all ought to be made righteous by Jesus* " *Christ.*" And supposing *all* (the whole race of mankind) to be made righteous by Jesus Christ, so far forth as they were made sinners by Adam, what then? The consequence is, that no man shall be condemned for Adam's sin; but if their own personal and actual sins bring them into a state of condemnation again, they must blame, not Adam, but themselves. A better and more gracious covenant (which is therefore deservedly called the *covenant of grace*) is established with mankind in Christ Jesus, than the old one forfeited by Adam's sin. And in this sense, *where sin abounded, grace did much more abound:* words, which cannot relate to a fu-

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ture event, depending upon man's free will, (as their actual compliance with this *grace* does,) but which declare what the things are in themselves, or in the design and purpose of God. St. Paul's exalting the *gift* above the *offence*, cannot mean with regard to the universality of it, or the numbers of men concerned, as the author seems to think; though at the same time he appears sensible of the absurdity, which he is willing to disguise. Says he in a note, "If the effects of the *offence* were universal, what "may we not expect from the *gift*, if it ought to "exceed it?" Why truly, that its effects should be more than universal. But he would not speak out, lest the absurdity should be too plain. But St. Paul best explains his own meaning; *for the judgment was by one to condemnation*; (came by *one* offence of *one* man;) *but the free gift is of many offences unto justification;* is an universal declaration of pardon, upon certain conditions, of *all* offences whatsoever, to *all* mankind. Moreover, we will grant to the author, that the *free gift* has "more influence "to make us happy, than the *offence* to make us "miserable." Still it does not follow that all will be happy; because no influence can make them so, whether they will or not.

His "second argument for the opinion in ques- "tion, is taken from the express declarations of scrip- "ture, that God keeps not his resentment for ever." He begins to "inquire into the strength of this "proof" in his third Letter, which is concerning the conclusion of the second commandment.

"In the first part, God shews himself as a power- "ful and jealous God, punishing iniquity to the "fourth generation; in the last, he is represented

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" as *exerting mercy to thousands* of generations. " Doth not this mean, that justice in his punish- " ments is restrained within certain bounds, whereas " mercy knows no limits?"

If the author will argue from the mere words and letter of this commandment, mercy is as really restrained within certain bounds as justice; only the bounds of the former are vastly wider, and more extensive, than those of the latter[1]. All God's perfections are in themselves equally infinite, and yet the exercise of them must be limited by the nature of the objects, with regard to which they are exerted. He contends himself, (Letter I.) that in God both goodness and justice are boundless; that they are so far from destroying one another, that they are inseparable: "justice is not opposite to good- " ness, nor goodness to justice." Was it the design then of this commandment to " restrain within cer- " tain bounds" that which is boundless? or to represent two divine attributes as inconsistent with one another, which are so inseparable, that we cannot so much as imagine or suppose them to subsist asunder? But the proper answer to what he argues from the conclusion of this commandment is, that it is nothing to the purpose. A general inference may be drawn from it, viz. that God delights

[1] Hence Mr. Whiston makes his calculation, " that in general, " the duration of the punishment of the wicked will be no greater, " as compared with the duration of the happiness of the good, " than two or three are to a thousand." P. 135. I know not what these gentlemen see, more than other people can, in the conclusion of this commandment; but I am satisfied, if we were to argue so on the other side, from our own fanciful interpretations of very plain words, our arguments would be treated with great contempt.

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much more in blessing than in punishing; which is very consistent with our doctrine. But it is only the sanction of a peculiar law, given to a people in peculiar circumstances of relation to the great Lawgiver, who was not only their God, but their King. Idolatry therefore, which was a departure from him, was as the sin of rebellion, or high treason, against their prince: and his punishment of it might justly, and would naturally in the course of things, extend to the third or fourth generation. But what is all this to the punishments of another world, where there are no generations, and where every man bears only his own iniquity? The author says he "does "not suppose any one pretends to take the words "literally [m], or imagines that God makes children "accountable for the iniquities of their fathers." As if these were equivalent. This proposition, "God "makes children accountable for the iniquities of "their fathers," may mean that he always does so; that this is the rule of his dealings with all mankind, in all ages of this world, and even in the *world to come:* which certainly is not true. And yet the words in question are to be taken literally, with proper restrictions and limitations; and when so qualified, imply no more than what the supreme powers of this world do every day, in cases of a like nature. But the artifice is, to pretend that the words cannot

[m] Yet in other places his tune seems to be altered. "On how "many occasions have we seen children die for the iniquity of "their fathers, and subjects for that of princes?" And then he recites several instances, p. 340. And again, p. 431, in a note;— "Children are punished with their fathers, subjects with their "prince;—God calls one generation to an account for what "passed in the foregoing age."

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be taken in a literal sense; and then you may affix to them any (mystical) sense, just to serve a turn. But whoever argues from that, argues only from a sense of his own, and not at all from the sense of the conclusion of the second commandment.

We are next encountered, in his fourth Letter, with the whole 107th Psalm. And it is well, when his hand was in, that he did not attack us with the whole hundred and fifty. For all of them, more or less, "set before our eyes a representation of the "wonderful ways of the divine wisdom, justice, and "mercy." The 107th Psalm in particular is a celebration of God's manifold providence over travellers, over captives, over sick men, over seamen, and in divers varieties of life; as the argument of it runs very justly in our common Bibles. If the author has a mind to make an allegory of it, he has his liberty; provided only he does not put his allegories upon us for scripture proofs: for in that way scripture may be made to prove any thing. "That immense good-"ness is not confined to the short space of this life," we believe as firmly as he does. *The mercy of the Lord will endure for ever;* as millions of creatures will experience. But that all will become proper objects of it, or, as he expresses it, "shall be capable "of receiving its influence;" is more than he can prove from this Psalm, or any other.

We must follow him now to Psalm ciii. 9: for he goes backwards, retreating, as it were, to his strongest hold. "One of the strongest expressions against "the eternity of torments is this; *He will not al-*"*ways chide, nor keep his anger for ever:* a de-"claration more strong, and the further removed "from ambiguity, as it is taken from the nature

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" and perfections of God himself, and perfectly agrees " with the ideas of justice, which every one finds " engraved upon his own mind." Several things may be returned to this; as first, he has here forgot the point he was to prove. For supposing this to be " one of the strongest expressions against the eter- " nity of torments," it does not therefore follow that it proves his system of the restoration. Then, whereas he says " this declaration is taken from the nature " and perfections of God," &c. I would ask, whether this proposition, viz. God will punish for ever those who for ever are proper objects of punishment, be not likewise taken from the nature and perfections of God himself? If the nature and perfections of God permit him to be angry, or to punish, for a time; why may they not permit him to punish for ever, if the reasons of punishment still continue? If the punishment was at first without reason, it was unjust, how temporary or short soever; and if there be reason for it, it will not be unjust, let the duration of it be what it will. But the proper answer undoubtedly is, that the Psalmist is not at all speaking of punishment in another world, in a state of retribution; but of correction, or chastisement, in the present state of discipline and trial[n]. The author

[n] Psalm ciii. 9. *He will not always chide: neither will he keep* his anger *for ever.* 10. *He hath not dealt with us after our sins; nor rewarded us according to our iniquities.* 11. *For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him.* 12. *As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us.* It is the same case with Isaiah, chap. lvii. 16. which the author thinks " deserves to be quoted at " full length," p. 287. *For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made.* The prophet having reproved the idolatrous

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has almost stumbled upon this himself, in a note which overthrows all that he advances as from this text. "A father," says he, "doth not chide his "children, whom he is resolved to abandon; by chid- "ing he shows his design of correcting and reducing "them to their duty." In this sense then of "chid- "ing," when it is declared that *God will not always chide*, what is it but a declaration that "he is re- "solved to abandon" such children, whom no chiding, no correction, will "reduce to their duty?" In a word, correction and punishment are very different things; one proper to a state of moral discipline, the other to a state of retribution; one must end, either by the amendment of the party corrected, or by his incurable wickedness, (for why then should he be corrected any more?) The other may, or may not, for any thing here said by the Psalmist; but certainly we ought to take our notions of this matter from such passages of scripture as do relate to it, and not from those which do not. The rest of this Letter is nothing but misrepresentation.

He proceeds in Letter V. to produce the prophetical promises agreeing with the preceding proofs. But I may fairly be excused from giving them any particular answer, as he himself appears to lay no stress upon them. He pretends to "employ the au-

Jews in the former part of the chapter, ver. 15. comforts the *humble* and *contrite*. Then follow the words in question; and ver. 17. he goes on,—*For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him: I hid me, and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart.* Ver. 18. *I have seen his ways, and will heal him*, &c. Nevertheless he assures us, ver. 20, 21, *the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt.* There is *no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.*

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" thority of the prophets only as collateral testimo-
" nies that are sufficient only, as they agree with the
" former evidences." That is, both with the " un-
" changeable truths" he has laid down as his founda-
tion, and with the express and positive declarations of
the New Testament, that are not "figurative." With-
out this rule, " the phraseology of the prophets is so
" ambiguous and obscure, that we may run into a
" thousand extravagancies, which we may suppose
" well-grounded, under pretence of some expressions,
" whose meaning we do not comprehend." The
plain English of all which is, that he is sensible these
prophetical promises are nothing to the purpose:
but if he has proved his point before, they may be
applied to it; and understood in this sense, as well
as any other. This, in general, of his prophetical
proofs: in particular, he says of Isaiah xl. 4, 5[o],
(which is the first testimony he quotes,) that he
" knows we may restrain the meaning of those words
" to something less general; and should any one dis-
" pute it with him, he would easily give it up."——
" Here is another of the same sort," (that is, as little
to the purpose,) Isaiah xlv. 23, 24, 25.[p] If what is

[o] *Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.*

This passage, as applied in the New Testament, relates to John the Baptist, and makes part of his preaching: and what a preacher he was of this author's system of the reestablishment, may be seen chap. i. Num. I. II.

[p] *I have sworn by myself,—that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.*—Referred by St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 11, to the day of judgment.

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here promised, or predicted, be confirmed by an oath, we may safely believe it will come to pass. But that this is the restoration of wicked men and devils in hell, is the point to be proved. "The apo-" stle St. Paul quotes this text in these words; Rom. " xiv. 11. *Every tongue shall give praise to God;* " which sure cannot be applied to the damned." This is amazing! St. Paul is there dissuading Christians from judging and despising their brethren; and his great argument against it is, (like that of St. James, Num. LXXXI. upon the same occasion,) that *we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. For it is written,* says the apostle, *As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.* Is not this now an admirable proof, that St. Paul understood the text in Isaiah to relate to the doctrine of the restoration? He next quotes Isaiah ix. 2.[q] only because mention is there made of *darkness and the shadow of death.* And lastly, ch. xxiv. 22. [r] because, "otherwise these are obscure " words."

[q] *The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.* For the meaning and application of which, see Matt. iv. 14, 15, 16.

[r] *And they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in the prison, and after many days shall they be visited.*

" The word *visiting* is used for punishing, as well as for remem-" bering with grace and favour. Thus this very phrase, *After* " *many days thou shalt be visited,* is used Ezek. xxxviii. 8. See " likewise Prov. xix. 23."

Mr. Lowth on the place; " who explains it of the kings of the

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If this be all the light and evidence which he is able to collect from Isaiah, what can be expected from Jeremiah, who "does not speak so clearly as "Isaiah, and makes use of figurative expressions?" However, he will offer some conjectures and probabilities from him; viz. from chap. xxv. and chap. xlv. et seq. Who can stand before a man, who thus argues from whole chapters? The design of which too he is pleased to wave, and considers only the figure. But that he gives "the true sense of this "figure, we cannot well doubt," he says, "if we cre- "dit St. Peter's explication of it." Now, would not any man suspect by this, that St. Peter argues from the figurative or spiritual sense of these prophecies, as this writer does? But where shall we find any such thing? St. Peter only says in the text alleged, viz. 1 Epist. chap. iv. 17. *The time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it begin first at us, what shall the end of them be that obey not the gospel of God?* Now if St. Peter had answered his own question, and told us their end shall be a restoration, it would have been directly in point; but at present he seems to be introduced to as little purpose as St. Paul was just before.

"We come next to Ezekiel, in the 16th chapter "of whose prophecy there is an allegory that may "have some relation to the argument we are upon, "though it mentions it only figuratively." But as

"earth, who made war with Christ and his saints at Armageddon, "Rev. xvi. 16. xix. 19. and there discomfited, lay languishing "under the sentence of condemnation till after the battle of Gog "and Magog, chap. xx. 8, 9, 10. when they were, with Satan their "leader, punished with everlasting destruction."

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this is only an allegory, to which the author affixes a sense which he does not insist upon himself, but proposes barely as a conjecture, we are at liberty, I presume, to pass on. Not that we shall meet with any thing more convincing; for "the last verses of the "prophet Micah," which he thinks are "less allego-"rical than those already cited," relate no more to our subject than the rest do, as will appear to any one who reads the chapter. We may see by the [s] quotation below, that he is not the first man who

[s] Porro qui volunt supplicia aliquando finiri; et licet post multa tempora, tamen terminum habere tormenta, his utuntur testimoniis. * *Quum intraverit plenitudo gentium, tunc omnis Israel salvus fiet.* Et iterum: † *Conclusit Deus omnia sub peccato, ut omnibus miseriatur.* Et in alio loco Sanctus loquitur: ‡ *Iram Domini sustinebo, quia peccavi ei, donec justificet causam meam, et auferat judicium meum, et educat me in lucem.* Et rursum: § *Benedicam te, Domine, quoniam iratus es mihi. Avertisti faciem tuam a me, et misertus es mei.* Dominus quoque loquitur ad peccatorem: *Quum ira furoris mei fuerit, rursum sanabo.* Et hoc est quod in alio loco dicitur: || *Quam grandis multitudo bonitatis tuæ, Domine, quam abscondisti timentibus te.* Quæ omnia replicant, asseverare cupientes, post cruciatus atque tormenta, futura refrigeria; quæ nunc abscondenda sunt ab his quibus timor utilis est, ut dum supplicia reformidant, peccare desistant. Quod nos Dei solius debemus scientiæ derelinquere, cujus non solum misericordiæ, sed et tormenta in pondere sunt, et novit quem, quomodo, aut quamdiu debeat judicare. *Hieron. in Isai. ult.*

Here follows Jerom's own explication of the literal sense of Micah vii. 9. Videtur mihi juxta litteram, Jerusalem contra Babylonicam et cæteras gentes loqui, quæ sibi insultaverant: *Ne lætamini in ruina mea;* quia Domino miserante consurgam; postquam sedero in captivitate, educet me ille de tenebris, et erit lux mea. Iram Domini sustinebo: quia me scio meruisse quod passa sum, donec ulciscar de gentibus; et fiat judicium meum. Novi quippe quod me sit educturus in lucem, et videbo justitiam ejus, et aspi-

* Rom. xi. 25, 26. † Rom. xi. 32. Gal. iii. 22. ‡ Mich. vii. 9. § Isai. xii. 1. || Psal. xxxi. 19.

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argued in this manner. But whatever weight such arguments might have in their day, or whatever apology may be offered for those who used them, it is surprising to see them revived in our age, when critical learning is so much improved, and the literal sense of scripture so well understood. No one now will believe that wicked men and devils will be restored to happiness and the favour of God, because there are some promises of a restoration made to the Jews, or because it is said—*yet will I bring again the captivity of Moab in the latter days;* though the same be said too "of Egypt, and the children of "Ammon." The author appears perfectly sensible of all this himself; and therefore, after citing a few more passages from the Psalms, which need not be mentioned, being as pertinent as the rest, he concludes thus, addressing himself to his correspondent, —"I don't believe, sir, you'll require any more "proofs upon this subject; you may take these in "what sense you please; I only beg you'll consider "there is nothing in the sense I have put upon them, "but what agrees perfectly well with *unchangeable* "*truths*, that is, with the ideas we have of the na- "ture and perfections of God; nor any thing but "what is agreeable to the truths clearly revealed to "us concerning the design of the redemption."

What he had to offer concerning the design of the redemption has been taken notice of already. We

ciet inimica mea Babylon, et cæteræ gentes in circuitu, et operietur confusione, quæ nunc dicit insultans, Ubi est Dominus Deus tuus? Oculi mei videbunt eam, et non longo post tempore, sed nunc et in præsentiarum conculcatam, quasi lutum platearum. Hactenus Jerusalem, sive propheta ex persona populi sit loquutus:—

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may now consider his "unchangeable truths," in which he lays the foundation of his system, and which are, he tells us, "the basis of all religion." And indeed the basis of all religion they are! for they are such truths as these, "God is *wise, just,* and "*good;* no one of his attributes destroys another:" &c. And if what he builds upon this foundation be of the same solid and immutable nature with the foundation itself, no doubt but it will stand, and all attempts to overthrow it will end in the confusion of those who make them. If therefore I apprehend this to be the case, I should here drop my pen, and have no further contest with a man who is thus supported, in every step he takes, by immutable truths. On the other hand, if I have done any thing in the former chapters of this work; if I have proved in the first and second that eternal punishments are plainly threatened in scripture[t], and in the third that it is

[t] It has been urged to this writer, "that if the justice of God "did not allow him to punish the wicked with eternal torments, "his wisdom would not have allowed him to threaten them with "them." To which he answers, p. 378. "This argument would "admit of no reply, did it not suppose the very thing in dispute." The question, he says, is, "whether the terms *eternity,* and *for* "*ever,* ought always to signify a duration without *end?*" which, with submission, is not the question at all. What words signify *always,* or are used *always,* in the whole extent of their meaning? not *διώνιος,* nor *ἀΐδιος,* nor *ἀθάνατος,* in Greek; (see Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. p. 178. in 8vo.) nor the words that answer to them in other languages. The question therefore is, whether the words signify duration without end, not always, but in the particular subject before us? And this I affirm, upon the strength of what I have offered in the chapters mentioned, without any danger of begging the question. This gentleman indeed is pleased to tell us, that the "expressions on both sides are equivalent;" nay, that those on his side are both "more numerous, and more posi-

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consistent with the perfections of God to execute his threatenings; then I think all our author's arguments, though he may imagine they are fairly deduced from "unchangeable truths," are in effect obviated, and answered already. And indeed, notwithstanding all his big words, his courage seems to fail him towards the conclusion of his Letter, where he confesses that "what he has hitherto said" (viz. in this first Letter, which draws its arguments from the nature of God, and the unchangeable ideas we have of his perfections) "ought to be considered only as "imperfect proofs, or as a sort of probabilities," &c. What then has he left to rest or rely on? his scripture proofs are taken from him, and many of them given up by himself[u]; and the arguments, which he draws from immutable truths, are to be considered "only as imperfect proofs, or as a sort of proba-"bilities." What is this but a confession, in effect, that he cannot prove his point, either from scripture or reason? To be more particular;

These invincible proofs of his, which he so much boasts of, are delivered by him in such a loose and rambling manner, that it is harder to collect them, and place them together in a proper view, than to

"tive;" (see p. 355. and 365.) But we have seen what sort of expressions he was able to produce; the number of which indeed may look considerable, but their weight amounts to just nothing at all.

[u] See page 402. of his book; where he gives up several of his proofs from the New Testament, viz. Acts iii. Coloss. i. Ephes. i. and more of the same kind. He will "give them all up," he says, "without fearing the edifice will be shaken." For that truly "is "founded on things, not on expressions, the sense of which may "be disputed." Why then did he pretend to prove it by expressions, or interest scripture in the question at all?

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answer them. But the substance of them, as far as I can judge, is as follows: "That the Deity has but "one design in creating beings, which is to render "them happy[x]: that, being supremely wise, he must "have foreseen what would befall his creatures; and "upon supposition that he was not able to make "them happy, he should have dropped his design, "and not exercised his creating power[y]: that as it "was his design, in creating them, to render them "happy, so his purposes cannot be frustrated by the "resistance of man, but he will find out some method "for bringing them to repentance and holiness, with-"out forcing their liberty[z]: that the contrary sup-"poses in God a helpless wisdom, reduced to the ne-"cessity of abandoning his most perfect work, and "letting it perish eternally, for want of means to re-"store it; or, in other words, it supposes the infi-"nitely wise and perfect Being to propose a design "in which he miscarries; and which he is not able "to accomplish through the immense space of eter-"nity[a]." The author suggests some other considerations, such as these; viz. that evil, not being eternal in its origin, will not be eternal in its duration[b]; and that punishment being a violent state, a forced situation, it consequently cannot endure for ever; which however, supposing the truth of them, fall short of his design, since a period may be put to these things, whether there be a restoration or not.

His first proposition, that "the Deity has but one

[x] See p. 250, 251, 252. Conf. p. 388.
[y] See p. 253. Conf. p. 257. not. and p. 388.
[z] See p. 335. Conf. p. 338.
[a] See p. 353. Conf. p. 395. 406.
[b] See p. 398. Conf. p. 284.

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"design in creating things," is either no truth at all, or, however, a truth which cannot be admitted *in terminis*, without explanation. The happiness of the creatures may be one end, but there is no reason to make it the sole and only end, of the creation. The Deity might have some regard to himself;—to the display and manifestation of his own attributes and perfections. We at least are commanded to do every thing to the *glory of God*, and are taught to pray for the *advancement of his glory*. And it is hard to conceive how that should be made the first thing in our prayers, and the chief end of our actions, which to the Deity himself is no end at all. It is no reply to this, to say that the happiness of his creatures tends to the glory of God, or that his glory is displayed and promoted in their happiness. For, allowing this, still they are distinct ideas; and one is not precisely the other. The glory of God is displayed in the happiness of his creatures, and it is also displayed by other ways;—displayed even by just and righteous punishment. For this is a manifestation of some or other of his glorious perfections. In short, every wise and good end, accomplished by the creation of the world, was intended by the Creator; for there is no reason to exclude one more than another from a mind which takes in every thing at one comprehensive view.

He foresaw "what would befall his creatures;" that is, he foresaw the misery which some of them would bring upon themselves, notwithstanding all his care, notwithstanding all the dispositions of his good providence, and all the dispensations of his grace, to prevent it. But still this was not a sufficient reason why he should forbear the exercise of

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his "creating power:" because more good, infinitely more good, upon the whole, was produced by executing his design, than by dropping it. If indeed he had "foreseen" that all his creatures would become miserable, that he should be "able to make "none of them happy," or none in comparison of the rest; that is, if he had foreseen that more evil would be produced than good, that evil finally, and upon the whole, would be prepollent; there may be some reason to say, that in such a case, and upon such terms, he would not have exerted his "creating "power." Not that even then any creature could complain of being injured, if he was so far from being created necessarily miserable, that he had a fair offer of everlasting happiness. But whatever the Deity might or might not have done, in the case supposed, we have no concern with it at present; as we have all the reason in the world to think, that the good produced by the creation will be vastly prepollent, and that no one individual is created necessarily and unavoidably miserable. And upon this footing I have proved before, that it is consistent with the divine perfections to create intelligent and free beings; though it had been better for some of them, through their own perverseness, if they had never been born.

The purpose of God is to render men happy in a certain order; that is, agreeable to their free nature, and the nature of things; and "without forcing their "liberty." This purpose cannot be defeated. But the question is, whether "the resistance of man" may not go so far, that no method can be found out to bring him to repentance and holiness, consistently with this order and this purpose? I don't see how

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the affirmative of this supposes in God a "helpless "wisdom." No power can perform impossibilities, no wisdom can reconcile contradictions. His wisdom may produce good out of evil; and make these creatures of some use or other in the creation, in ways and methods which we are not aware of: but it may be impossible to restore them in the sense here meant, that is, to bring them to glory and virtue, by any means whatsoever. Force is entirely out of the question, as being utterly incompetent, and incongruous to the end proposed; and moral means may have lost all their influence. If this be the case, there is no room for wisdom to exert itself in their favour; or to contrive any methods to bring them to repentance and holiness. For wisdom, the more perfect it is, is the further removed from doing or attempting any thing in vain. Nor does this argue any defect in the divine wisdom, or lay any imputation upon it, any more than it is a reflection upon Omnipotence to say, that it cannot work contradictions. "It is not a limitation of the divine good-"ness," says bishop Burnet [c], nor, I would add, of his wisdom, "to say, that some men and some states "are beyond it; no more than it is a limitation of "his power, to say that he cannot sin, or cannot do "impossibilities: for a goodness towards persons not "capable of becoming good, is a goodness that does "not agree with the infinite purity and holiness of "God." Nor does this imply that God "proposed a "design in which he miscarries:" for he never designed to make them happy, by destroying liberty, by inverting order, and in contradiction to the nature, the reason, and truth of things.

[c] Exposition, Art. I.

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The great point therefore to be proved by the advocates for a restoration, is, that the damned are capable of becoming good. Till this is done, the rest is all amusement. It is idle and ridiculous to talk of wisdom's contriving and finding out means of virtue, with regard to states and persons incapable of virtue. And here Dr. Burnet steps in and tells us, that he cannot conceive what can hinder their amendment, except a supernatural obduration, *nisi divinitus indurentur*, "unless they are hardened by "God [d]." Where I observe, that it is here supposed possible that God may harden them; and therefore such an obduration is not impossible in the nature of things. I would ask therefore why it may not as well be conceived, that free creatures can thus harden themselves? What the doctor suggests, "that "in the future state there will be no room for infi- "delity; that the *fomes mali* will be extinguished; "that there will be no internal concupiscence, and "no external incentive, to feed and encourage their "vices;" supposing it all true, appears to hurt his cause as much one way, as it can serve it another. For what is this but excluding virtue as well as vice? what is it saying less, than that *that* state is not a state of probation, will not admit of any moral discipline, and is calculated for no moral improvement at all? which is indeed the truth of the case; and though it be destructive of their scheme, and tears it up by the roots, it is the amount of all they have to offer, when they would persuade us that the wicked in hell will some time or other become good and virtuous.

His argument may be reduced to this dilemma:

[d] De Stat. Mort. et Resurg. p. 293.

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If the beings concerned have reason and liberty, they will repent; and if they have not reason and liberty, they are no longer to be accounted men. The force of which argument consists in the idea you annex to the word *man*. If by that term is meant such a creature as man is now, while he is in his probation state, it implies indeed reason and freedom. But suppose such an agent, for the continued abuse of these powers, should be punished at last with the loss of one or both of them, would it mend the matter at all, to dispute whether he is any longer to be called a man? Suppose he is not, (as by the supposition he is not, in the sense of free agency,) he is still a creature, capable of suffering those punishments which he has brought upon himself. But we know too little what degrees of reason the damned will enjoy, or whether any liberty, as that implies a power to repent, and become really good, to determine any thing satisfactorily in this point. A late ingenious [e] writer has advanced a sort of hypothesis, that their punishment will "lead them into a kind of "phrensy and madness." And their state of disorder may so far at least resemble madness, as to be equally incapable of morality. The faculties of their minds, their passions, and affections, may be so depraved, and their whole inward system so perverted and spoiled, that they can no longer act or choose what is right and good. Whether beings in such a state of disorder are to be reckoned *men*, is a point of no consequence at all.

Let us view this matter in another light; and suppose for once that they are still real agents, en-

[e] Archbishop King's Appendix to his Origin of Evil.

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dued with reason and liberty. Does it therefore necessarily follow, that they will repent? The state of things may be so changed externally, that they will be no longer able, or have opportunity, to act their vices; but will there be a correspondent change in the inward system? What reason has Dr. Burnet to say, that there will be no "internal concupiscence?" Will not the mind be the same? and the same evil temper, dispositions, and habits still adhere to it? However therefore they may be restrained from the outward acts of vice, they continue the same evil beings; and love the wickedness which they cannot commit.

But the stress of the thing, it will be said, lies here; that though they carry their evil habits and dispositions with them when they first go into hell, yet the punishments of that place will purify them; —will bring them to a sober sense of things;—will make them hate those vices which are the cause of their sufferings, and excite in them by degrees the love of God, and virtue.

It is surprising, nevertheless, if hell be such a state of purification, that it should always be represented in scripture only as a place of punishment. It is surprising too, that a place furthest removed from God, and his heavenly influences, inhabited only by his most accursed enemies, who are banished from his righteous presence, should after all prove the most effectual school of virtue. There is no good reason to believe that these punishments will have any such effect. To say that they will force them to become good, amounts to a contradiction: election is matter of freedom; it cannot be forced. And all means that fall short of this, all moral mo-

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tives, all representations of good and evil, may possibly be of no avail. Evil may in a manner become their good: and the unconquerable will and study of revenge[f] may defeat all methods (should any methods be contrived) to restore them. To be brief, there are two things which must concur to produce this wonderful reformation: their own inward system, or constitution; and the system, or constitution of things without them. That is, they must be really moral agents, capable of choosing, loving, and practising virtue; and the place or state they are in must be correspondent, affording them the means of virtue, motives to it, and opportunities for it. Neither of which, as far as I can see, is likely to be the case. However, it cannot be proved from reason that this will be the case[g]; and it seems plain from

[f] For never can true reconcilement grow,
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep. MILTON.

[g] Since eternal life is the free gift of God, even to them who obey him, and their only claim to it is by promise, it seems an odd attempt to undertake to prove merely from reason, that they who would not obey him must be made partakers of it. "No "man," says Dr. Clarke, "can say it is unreasonable, that they, "who by wilful and stubborn disobedience to their Almighty "Creator and most merciful Benefactor, and by the habitual "practice of unrepented wickedness, have, during the state of "trial, made themselves unfit for the enjoyment of that happi- "ness which God has prepared for them that love and obey him, "should be eternally rejected, and excluded from it." But bare deprivation of happiness cannot be all. That excellent writer goes on to prove unanswerably, that there must be some sensible and positive punishment, besides the mere negative loss of happiness.—"And then as to the duration of this punishment; "no man can presume, in our present state of ignorance and "darkness, to be able truly to judge, barely by the strength of his "own natural reason, what in this respect is or is not consistent

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scripture, that it will not. According to all the representations there given of the transactions at the day of judgment, the fate of the wicked will then be decided for ever. The divine Founder of the Christian religion may then say, what he said when he had just purchased it with his blood, Τετέλεσται, *It is finished* [h]. *Having accomplished the number of his elect, he delivers up the kingdom to God, even the Father;* and *as no man can* (nor, from the foundation of the world to the end of it, ever did) *come to the Father but by him* [i]; and his offices of mediation are now at an end, and the purposes of God by him, *of bringing many sons unto glory* [k], are fulfilled; the mystery, or the whole mysterious dispensation of God in Christ, (τελεσθῇ [l],) will *be finished.* He and his saints take possession of the everlasting kingdom, and the door is shut. *Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie* [m]. And according to the whole tenor and drift of the New Testament, there is no after-admission for such as these: no intimations dropt, from one end of it to the other, of their reestablishment, or recovery. On the contrary, it appears so evident, from all authorities sacred and primitive, that in gehenna, or hell, there is no repentance; that the greater part of those who deny the eternity of the punishment

" with the wisdom and justice and goodness of the supreme Go-
" vernor of the world; since we neither know the place, nor
" kind, nor manner, nor circumstances, nor degrees, nor all the
" ends and uses of the final punishment of the wicked." *Evidences of Religion*, p. 360, &c.

[h] John xix. 30. [i] Chap. xiv. 6. [k] Heb. ii. 10.
[l] Rev. x. 7. [m] Chap. xxii. 15.

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choose to embrace the hypothesis of annihilation; contending that the damned, so far from being restored to happiness, will at last be utterly reduced to nothing. And they think that the scripture expressions of *death, the second death, perdition, destruction,* (*θάνατος, φθορὰ, ὄλεθρος, ἀπώλεια,*) imply so much: which however appears to be a mistake, from what has already been observed in the second chapter: but of the point itself I shall treat more particularly in the following.

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CHAP. V.

Concerning the annihilation of the wicked: and also concerning repentance in hades.

ANNIHILATION being a real effect, it must be produced by some cause. This cause must either be internal or external. If the latter, it must either be God himself, or some inferior agent or instrument. And the proof of this must be derived either from experience, or reason, or the word of God. The first of these can afford little evidence in the case, since there is no instance, or example, of annihilation in nature. In material substances we see great changes and alterations; but none of them are absolutely reduced to nothing. The modifications of matter are infinitely varied, but not one particle of matter itself is annihilated; nor can all the art, or all the power of man, or any creature, utterly destroy it: *Omnia mutantur; nihil interit.* And as bodies cannot reduce each other to nothing by their mutual actions upon one another, so neither have they any internal tendency to annihilation. They no more tend to unmake themselves, than they did to make themselves; but naturally persevere in their own present state.

If this be the case with regard to material substances, or bodies, it should hold, one would think, at least equally with reference to thinking substances, or minds. These are beings of a higher order, of a far more excellent nature, and which resemble the

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supreme Being himself. It cannot therefore be imagined that they should hold their existence by a more precarious tenure than the former, or be more liable to be reduced to nothing. And if the actions of material substances upon one another cannot annihilate bodies; it is not to be supposed, allowing that matter may act upon mind, that any such action should be able to destroy it. Created minds cannot annihilate bodies; and to suppose that any action of bodies should be able to annihilate minds, is to set the more excellent nature many degrees below the inferior, and to subject the noblest of God's creatures to that which is lowest in the scale of existence. It is further to be observed, that as material substances cannot annihilate minds, so neither can these thinking substances annihilate themselves. This is plain from experience. Besides, this absurdity would follow, that if they had any such power, they would be able to elude the justice of God, when they deserved punishment, by destroying their own existence. It holds, again, equally strong at least with respect to thinking substances as to material, that they have no internal tendency to annihilation. God himself is a mind, or spirit; and therefore minds, as minds, can have no unnatural tendency to fall back into nothing. The more they resemble him, that is, the more pure and perfect minds they are, the further are they removed from the state and from the capacity of nonexistence. If there be any phenomena arising from the union of the mind with matter, which seem to betoken a tendency towards utter extinction, all true philosophers know that they do but seem to do so; and that the decays and disorders of the body only suspend or deaden

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the exercise of the powers of the mind, without affecting its existence. Besides, they are contradicted by contrary appearances; such as prove the mind to be vigorous and active, when the body is quite the reverse, as in sleep, and even at the approach of death.

If then thinking substances cannot be destroyed by the action of bodies,—if they cannot destroy themselves,—and if they have no internal tendency to annihilation; there is but another way to reduce them to nothing, and that is, by supposing that they have power to deprive one another of existence. But it is not easily conceivable, how I, who cannot annihilate myself, should be able to annihilate another man. Transfer this, if you please, to pure minds, or to any order of beings superior to man, (excluding only the supreme Being, whose almighty power, as it made all things of nothing, can reduce them to nothing again,) and it is still inconceivable how any creature, who has no such power over his own being, should have it over the being of another. But if man cannot annihilate man, may not an angel annihilate him? and may not a superior angel annihilate one of a lower order, or one that kept not his first estate? No; at least neither of these is clear, nor so much as probable; it being more agreeable to reason to think, that this is the prerogative of God only, who alone can give being, and alone can take it away. Whoever asserts this annihilating power to any creature, must do it gratis, and without proof. And why should we maintain a point gratis, and barely for maintaining's sake? especially a point that has a bad tendency? since, were all other arguments wanting, this itself would be one

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against it [a]. The result of these reflections is, that annihilation must be the effect of the power of God [b].

I don't offer these remarks as positive proofs against annihilation, but as a sort of presumptive arguments on our side. One sometimes hears men talk of annihilation, as if it were one of the most common effects in the world; an event that would come to pass of course. And yet it is nothing but a notion that has crept into the heads of philosophical men, without having any thing to answer to it in nature or fact. Thus, as to the subject under debate, "hell fire," they cry, "is a consuming fire, and "the torments of that place will reduce them to no-"thing." This is easily said; but the reason and

[a] See this argument applied in another case by the author of the Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, sect. ii.

[b] "There is a common notion in the world, that things would "fall back into nothing of themselves, if they were not preserved "by the same infinite power that made them: but without ques-"tion it is an act of the same infinite power to reduce a being to "nothing, that it is to bring a being out of nothing: so whatever "has once a being, must of its nature continue still to be, with-"out any new causality or influence. This must be acknow-"ledged, unless it can be said, that a tendency to annihilation is "the consequent of a created being: but as this would make the "preservation of the world to be a continued violence to a natu-"ral tendency that is in all things; so there is no more reason to "imagine that beings have a tendency to annihilation, than that "nothing had a tendency to creation. It is absurd to think that "any thing can have a tendency to that which is essentially op-"posite to itself, and is destructive of it." *Bishop Burnet's Exposition*, art. i.

There is an argument of another kind, which may be seen in Watts's Philosophical Essays, Essay xi. sect. 4. "Hoc duntaxat "certo affirmari potest, eum solum qui substantiis existentiam "primum dedit, posse eandem eis eripere:—" *Jo. Clerici Ontologiæ* cap. vi. ad finem.

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philosophy of it is not so apparent. Supposing (not granting) that this fire will have the same effect upon the future body, that the action of fire has now upon the present; it will then indeed, in a vulgar sense, destroy it: that is, it will so destroy the texture and organization of the parts, that the soul can no longer inhabit, or act upon it in union; from whence must ensue a second separation. But then, at the same time, the soul itself, which is in effect the man, will still subsist entire and active, still capable of pleasure and pain. Nor can all the action of all the material substances in the world deprive it of its existence. Men are sometimes burnt to death here, God's martyrs and the Devil's: yet no reason, no religion, natural or revealed, will allow us to suppose that, together with this mortal life, a final period is put to all life, to all sensation and being. And if the soul can survive the shock of such an event as this, what is there else that is likely to destroy it? It was reckoned of old an absurdity in the Stoics, that though they held that the soul survived the body, yet they would not allow that it would exist for ever. "Stoici autem usuram nobis largiun-"tur, tanquam cornicibus: diu mansuros aiunt ani-"mos, semper negant," says Cicero [c]. And he goes

[c] Tusculan. i. cap. 31. "Numquid igitur est causæ, quin amicos "nostros Stoicos dimittamus; eos dico, qui aiunt animos manere, "e corpore cum excesserint, sed non semper? Istos vero: qui, "quod tota in hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiant, posse ani-"mum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo "facile ad credendum est, sed eo concesso, quod volunt, conse-"quens, id certe non dant, ut, cum diu permanserit, ne intereat." To which the pupil replies, "Bene reprehendis: et se isto modo "res habet." Cap. xxxii. p. 260. ed. Olivet.

The learned editor indeed offers a conjecture, that part of the

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on, in the very beginning of the next section, to shew how this was absurd; as it was allowing what was most difficult in the whole affair, and at the same time denying what was not only credible in itself, but a consequence of their own concession. For if the soul can survive the dissolution of the body, and exist in a state of separation from it, what reason is there to imagine that it will ever perish?

But, though I have, for argument's sake, supposed that this future fire may thus destroy the body, and once again separate the soul from it; yet is it far more reasonable, agreeably to ancient testimonies and tradition, to believe the contrary. As to the philosophy of the thing, it amounts only to this; that because our common fire has this effect upon the present body, therefore that future fire will have the same on the body after the resurrection: which sure is a very poor argument, or none at all. We know neither the nature of hell fire, nor the nature and qualities of the resurrection-body, perfectly enough to lay any stress on such reasonings. I don't say that this argument is made use of by our adversaries, and produced in form; but it is the ground of their opinion, so far as the reason of the case is concerned. Dr. Whitby, for instance, whose sentiments on this point are well known, which he offers however only as a conjecture, thinks that the bodies of the wicked must be consumed by that fire, or else there would be a constant miracle[d]. But they are

former sentence, beginning at "Istos vero," belongs to the pupil. And then the instructor replies, "Bene reprehendis," &c. But which way soever we read the passage, they both condemn the conduct of the Stoics in this affair.

[d] Appendix to the first chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

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only our own gross conceptions of the matter which make a miracle needful. Surely there may be resemblance and analogy enough in those future punishments, to the painful sensations which are excited by fire, to apply that name to them in a very proper sense; though all the effects are not exactly the same with those which the action of our ordinary fire produces on the present human body. It may be as agreeable to the nature of that fire, not to consume, or, to the nature of those bodies, not to be consumed, as the contrary is agreeable to the nature of common fire, and the nature of the present body. And such a constitution of things may no more require "a constant miracle," than that which prevails now. But not to run into any nice speculations, which may only serve to breed dispute; this is certain, that hell fire will be such as will torment the Devil and his angels, for whom it is prepared, as well as wicked men. And can common fire do this[e]? can that act upon spirits incorporeal? or, if at all corporeal, (which however is not hastily to be taken for granted,) with bodies so infinitely subtle and spiritual, that common fire does not seem likely to have much force upon them.

All that I intend by this, is only to shew, that

[e] The sentiments of antiquity on this head may be seen in Suicer's Thesaurus, sub voc. Ἄγγελος et Δαίμων.—Those who ascribed any thing of corporeity to angels were induced to it chiefly by their mistaken sense of Gen. vi. 2. The fact there mentioned they thought could not be accounted for without it. Besides, the word *body* (σῶμα) was of very indeterminate meaning; and some who applied it to them might only mean that they were substances, not shadows, or nothings. This, one would think, was the case of those who called their bodies *immaterial*, (σώματα ἄϋλα,) which in our modern notions is a contradiction.

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the future fire, which will torment the bodies of the wicked, will not utterly consume them: I mean, there arises no clear evidence that it will do so merely from the reason and philosophy of the thing itself. It may be otherwise for any thing we can tell. And our ignorance of the nature and properties both of that fire, and of those bodies, should keep us from being positive in the point. True reason will not be hasty to decide, where it is so very unqualified to judge. Experience supplies us with no evidence of the annihilation of any thing whatsoever; but, as far as it is interested in the question at all, is rather a presumption against it. True philosophy teaches us, that the souls of men will neither cease to exist of themselves, nor can be destroyed by the action of other creatures. At least this is allowed by the patrons of annihilation, that the agents in the destruction of the body are not capable of destroying the soul [f]. And it may be nothing but a gross unphilosophical imagination, that makes them think them capable of destroying the body itself. So far therefore the cause seems to go against annihilation. And if these reflections do not amount to demonstrative proof, they are at least so strong a prejudice against it, that we have reason to expect and insist, that the testimonies produced from scripture, to which the appeal next lies, should speak fully and clearly to the point, before we admit it. But do they so? Where is the text that says plainly, that the time will come when the wicked shall be no more? when they will be as if *they had never been born* [g]? when their torments will reduce them to

[f] See the quotation from Mr. W. Num. X.

[g] "It is to be observed, that when our Saviour came nearest

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nothing? or deprive them of all sense of being? Some such plain declarations as these would be to the purpose. But to infer annihilation from a few scripture terms, which appear to have no such sense or meaning in scripture, is doing nothing. Dr. Whitby seems to rest his opinion more upon the reason he gives for it, viz. that the preservation of the bodies of the wicked will require "a constant mi-"racle," which is not to be expected, than upon any texts of scripture. However, those which he points out to us have been considered in our second chapter, Num. LXIX. XC.; to what is there said, I shall only add, that supposing *destruction* and *perdition* in those texts meant annihilation, (which they do not,) it would be perfectly arbitrary and unreasonable to limit this to the bodies only of the wicked; since the texts speak of the destruction and perdition of *men, ungodly men, who knew not God, and obeyed not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.* These are to be *punished with everlasting destruction;* but how the annihilation, or dissolution, merely

"the expressing this matter of annihilation, he chooseth two "other phrases, (not this of death, or any thing that way inclin-"ing,) *having never been born, and having a millstone hanged* "*about the neck, and being cast into the midst of the sea,* which "by an imperfect resemblance seemeth meant on purpose to sig-"nify annihilation: and yet it is also observable to the main "question, that either of these states (and so annihilation) is bet-"ter and more desirable, than the lot which in God's decree "awaits a betrayer of Christ, a wicked man, for that one fact." *Dr. Hammond, Judgment worthy of God,* vol. i. of his Works, p. 710.

The learned author proceeds to shew that the other terms usually alleged in this argument, (ἀπώλεια, ὄλεθρος, *the second death,* &c.) do not mean any such thing in scripture as annihilation.

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of their bodies, can be a punishment to them, it is hard to conceive. It must be rather a deliverance and release, to be separated from their bodies, in that place of torment. So that the texts cannot possibly favour Dr. Whitby's hypothesis. As to Mr. Whiston's criticisms and reflections, I have taken notice of them in the two first chapters, under the respective texts; which I need not here repeat [h].

But as the whole strength of the objection is collected together, and presented in one view, by another writer, I shall give you his words at length. Thus then reasons the Moral Philosopher: "The "fire which is utterly to consume, destroy, and burn "up the wicked in the last day, is called *everlasting* "*fire*, because its effects will be everlasting, and

[h] "Ἀπόλλυμαι signifies very often no more than *to die*, or *to* "*suffer great troubles and miseries*; though from such expres- "sions in the New Testament some patrons of loose and atheisti- "cal principles would infer, that there are no future punishments "of wicked men, but that upon death they are entirely annihi- "lated. The classic authors take this and the synonymous words "for a state of great trouble and perplexity; but never in this "sense that Latitudinarians wish it might be taken in, but can "never prove that it is. Herodotus has ἀπολλύμενος for a person "departed this life, and living in happiness in another: Οὔτε ἀπο- "θνήσκειν ἑωυτοὺς νομίζουσι, λέναι δὲ τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάμολξιν δαί- "μονα, *they do not suppose that they who die are finally extinct,* "*but that the person that departs this life goes to their god Za-* "*molxis.* We have in Xenophon ἀπολόλει τῷ φόβῳ. So ἀπωλόμην "δύστηνος οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ δὴ, in Euripides. It is very common in this "sense likewise in Latin authors. So *destruction* and *perdition* "in sacred writers only express incurable despair and endless mi- "series; because that eternal destruction is declared through the "whole New Testament to be only a state of extreme sufferings, "and the sharpest sense of guilt and divine vengeance; and not "loss of being, or annihilation." *Blackwall's Sacred Classics*, vol. i. p. 178, &c. 8vo.

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"there can be no possible recovery from this se-
"cond death. And thus the fire which consumed
"the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah is called *ever-*
"*lasting fire*, because those cities were destroyed
"for ever, never to be restored more. And thus this
"last destroying fire is said to be unquenchable, be-
"cause no power or policy can extinguish it, or de-
"liver the ungodly out of it, till it has utterly con-
"sumed and destroyed the subject. But that the
"second death which wicked men must undergo
"after they have been raised, and received their
"sentence, should be an eternal life in torments,
"without ever dying more; that a consuming and
"destroying, should be an unconsuming, immortal-
"izing fire; that the mortal and corruptible bodies
"with which the wicked shall be raised, should
"be immortal and uncorruptible, which is the sole
"privilege of the just; that eternal death and utter
"destruction should signify immortality, and eter-
"nal life in misery; and that when the professed
"end and design of Christ's coming into the world,
"was to destroy the Devil and his kingdom, and
"all his works, and to abolish and put an end to
"sin and death for ever; that he should in the
"event come to establish the Devil's empire for
"ever in hell over the far greater part of mankind,
"and to perpetuate and immortalize sin and hell,
"instead of extirpating and destroying them: these
"are such gross and glaring contradictions, as can-
"not be reconciled to the natural use of words in
"any language."

There are several propositions contained, or implied, in this noble chain of reasoning, which we must take to pieces, and examine distinctly. "The

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" fire which is utterly to consume, destroy, and burn " up the wicked," &c. where it is taken for granted, contrary to all philosophy and reason, that fire can thus " utterly consume, destroy, and burn up" such beings as men; beings composed of body and soul, the latter of which it is certain no action of fire can reduce to nothing. And for any thing this writer can prove, or any one else, this may be the case of the former also. If then this fire cannot utterly consume and destroy the wicked, it cannot be called *everlasting* and *unquenchable* for that reason; or " because no power or policy can extinguish " it, or deliver the ungodly out of it, till it has ut- " terly consumed and destroyed the subject." It cannot, in the sense intended, destroy the subject at all. Nor does the scripture any where declare, or intimate, that this is the ground and reason of its being called *everlasting* and *unquenchable*. On the contrary, as the primary and most obvious notion which the words themselves suggest, is that of the real everlasting existence and duration of the fire itself, so the scripture representations confirm this notion, and put it beyond all reasonable doubt. For it is there such an *everlasting fire* as is also an *everlasting punishment*; where they are *tormented day and night for ever and ever*[1]. As to the instance he alleges of " the fire which consumed the cities " of Sodom and Gomorrah," that point has been already considered under Num. XCIV. It is far from being indisputable that that is the fire which is there called *everlasting*; or, if it be, it is not merely upon this account, because it consumed those cities, but because of its long, very long duration. In this

[1] See Num. XCVIII.

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view, together with the severity of that signal vengeance, which was so justly executed on that abandoned people, it may well be considered as an emblem [k] of that fire which in the strictest sense is *unquenchable.*

What this writer next suggests is concerning the *second death*, which he thinks can never import "eternal life in torments, without ever dying more:" for which matter, see Num. LXIX, and Num. XCIX. It evidently does import this in St. John's language; and if there be any absurdity in it, how came philosophers, both before and after his time, to be so fond of the same figure? Is any thing more usual with them, than to call a miserable life by the name of death? by which rule eternal miserable life, or existence, would be eternal death. When souls in their revolt from God forsake the divine life, they *die*, says Hierocles; not that they lose their being, (for an immortal nature cannot cease to *be*,) but their well-being. Ignorance and impiety are the death of a reasonable essence [l]. In the same view, and agree-

[k] Externus ille, inquit Witsius, atque hoc sensu æternus ignis, quo urbes conflagrarunt, est ὑπόδειγμα, exemplar aliis ad validam monelam ob oculos positum, 2 Pet. ii. 6. et simul figura *ignis* vere *æterni*, quo, dum hæc scribebat Judas, excruciabantur scortatorum animæ. Urbes ipsæ habent ὑπόδειγμα, vel ἀντίτυπον αἰωνίου πυρὸς, sed improbi homines sustinent δίκην πυρός. Ultimam hanc sententiam et mihi placere non diffiteor. *Wolfius in loc.*

[l] Hier. in Carm. Pythag. ad vers. i. Vide etiam Macrob. in Somn. Scip. lib. i. cap. 11. "Nam et qui primum Pythagoram et "qui postea Platonem secuti sunt, duas esse mortes, unam ani- "mæ, animalis alteram prodiderunt: mori animal cum anima "discedit e corpore, ipsam vero animam mori asserentes cum a "simplici et individuo fonte naturæ in membra corporea dissipa- "tur." For Christian antiquity, see Suicer's Thesaurus, under the

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ably to the same scheme of speech, they represent the present life, while we sojourn in the darkness of this world, and are fettered in the prison of the body, as *death*. And when we shall be removed out of it, and return to the celestial light of our native country, we shall *live*: "Quo cum venerimus, tum "denique vivemus. Nam hæc quidem vita mors "est [m]." There is therefore no impropriety in St. John's calling the future miserable existence of the wicked, by the name of the *second death;* nothing contrary "to the natural use of words in any lan- "guage;" which is all the Moral Philosopher's argument here turns upon. Nay, I appeal to any unprejudiced person, whether the absurdity does not lie on the other side? viz. in supposing that St. John means by the *second death* only utter extinction of being. What is there in this that can hurt the wicked, or that they can fear? what is there in it worse than the first death? And yet it seems to be represented as a punishment infinitely more dreadful; which it can never be to the wicked, in the sense of annihilation. Considering only the troubles and miseries of the present life, philosophers have thought deprivation of sense and being a privilege, and proposed it as a consolation against the fear of death [n]. And can this be reckoned a punishment to

word Θάνατος, in the two last articles, *mors infidelium, et mors æterna.* And see the like objection in the mouth of Smalcius answered by Ashwell, *De Socino et Socianismo*, p. 191.

[m] Cic. Tusculan. lib. i. cap. 31.

[n] Nam si supremus ille dies non extinctionem, sed commutationem affert loci, quid optabilius? sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitæ laboribus obdormiscere, et ita conniventem somno consopiri sempiterno? *Tusc.* i. cap. 49.

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the damned in hell? or be esteemed as the severest effect of God's righteous vengeance upon his most implacable enemies? It can never be. To proceed; his calling this fire a "consuming and de-"stroying" fire, which can never be an "unconsum-"ing and immortalizing" fire, is nothing but his own mistake. For as we deny, on the one hand, that it either is, or is called, a "consuming and de-"stroying" fire; so neither do we assert, on the other, that it is an "immortalizing" fire. It does not make the wicked immortal, but find them so. If any one in this sense will still call it an "immortalizing" fire, he has his liberty: we will have no strife about words. But to be raised, he says, with "bodies "immortal and uncorruptible, is the sole privilege "of the just." Which if he had as plainly proved, as he has positively asserted, he had gained something. Not but that even then his conclusion would be wider than his premises: for utter extinction of being, both of body and soul, cannot be inferred from the corruption and mortality of the body only. But here is no proof produced, that the "bodies "with which the wicked shall be raised" will be capable of any future dissolution. They will not indeed be raised to that glorious and happy immortality "which is the sole privilege of the just;" but they will be so raised and united to their respective souls, as never more to be divided from them, since death and hades, both the act and state of separation, will be destroyed.

His last argument, which only remains to be considered, sets forth, "that the professed design of "Christ's coming into the world, being to destroy

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" the Devil, his works, and kingdom, and to put an " end to sin and death for ever; it cannot be ima- " gined that, in the event, he should establish the " Devil's empire for ever in hell over the far greater " part of mankind, and perpetuate sin and hell, in- " stead of destroying them." As if truly hell, which is the place of the Devil's punishment, would be the seat of his empire! No, his kingdom is in this world; subsists, and is supported by wicked men here, and is not a little promoted, it is to be feared, by such wretched writings as this man's. The works of the Devil, which Christ came to destroy, he has destroyed in some degree, and is daily destroying, more or less, not by mere power and force, but by such means as only can destroy real wickedness in moral agents. These are the influence of his own most holy example, the purity of his doctrine, the sanctions of his laws, by which *life and immortality are brought to light* on the one hand, and *the wrath of God revealed against all unrighteousness* on the other, and all his manifold gifts of grace. And if men will not be wrought on by these to take his yoke upon them voluntarily, and become his subjects by free choice, they will at last, as enemies, be put under his feet; rendered incapable of giving him any more opposition, and punished as they deserve. And is not this sufficiently destroying the works and kingdom of the Devil? but to destroy hell, that is, the punishment of sin, in order to destroy sin, is an expedient much more likely to encourage it. There is no moral evil in righteous punishment; and if it be consistent with the moral character of the great Governor and Judge of the world, to permit men and

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devils to sin, it is surely consistent with his character to punish them; and that too, if their existence admit of it, and the reasons of things require it, for ever.

I am willing to persuade myself, that it appears from these observations, that there will be no annihilation of the wicked. All appearances are against it, both from experience, philosophy, and revelation. So that if men will still go on to maintain it, they must do it gratis, not only without evidence, but contrary to it;—contrary to evidence as clear as a reasonable man would expect in a question of this nature. However, I am ready to own, after all, that it is possible, because there is a power in being that is able to effect it: God can reduce them to nothing. But, besides that we are not to argue from mere power, it seems plain from his word that he never will. All the pretence for it from scripture lies in two or three expressions, which import no such thing; and which cannot be interpreted to that sense, without doing the greatest violence to many other passages and descriptions, relating to the same subject. Add to this, that there is a consideration or two of another kind, which renders this affair of God's annihilating the wicked improbable, in the eye of reason. One is, that it ill suits with the idea of his infinite perfections, to suppose him reduced to the necessity of totally destroying such creatures, whom he made naturally immortal. Is not the universe large enough for God to dispose of them into states suitable to their natures? and cannot his wisdom dispose of them into such states and places as are proper for them, and proportionable to their deserts, without destroying and taking away their

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being[o]? In this way they may be made subservient to more purposes of Providence than we are acquainted with; but to annihilate them, besides that it is the bungling work of doing and undoing, is to make them of no use at all. If it be said, that annihilating them will be an act of favour to them, this is the other consideration against it; which take in the words of Dr. Whitby[p]: "God is not "obliged to annihilate the souls of wicked men, "for then it must be so on this account, because he "is obliged to put them out of that misery which "they have brought upon themselves by their own "folly and rebellions; and if so, since this must cer- "tainly be an act, not of strict justice, but of grace "and favour, God must be bound to shew an act of "grace and favour towards men, purely because "they have provoked and rebelled against him, i. e. "because they have done that which renders them "the proper objects of his hatred and his indigna- "tion, and be obliged to save men from that misery, "which by their stubborn disobedience to all his "calls and admonitions, his exhortations, and all "the gracious methods his providence had used "to preserve them from it, they wilfully have "brought upon themselves. Whereas indeed *the* "*riches of his goodness*, being designed *to lead* "*men to repentance*, or to encourage them in the "ways of holiness and piety, hath only for its pro-

[o] Dr. Clarke's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, p. 11, 62. "—We hear "nothing of their annihilation: as indeed it would be very strange "we should; for this would be as much as to say, God had made "such beings as he could not continue in being with consistency "with his own attributes."—*Letter concerning Origen*, p. 73.

[p] Appendix to 2 Thess. chap. i.

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" per object such as are capable of being made the " better by it; it cannot therefore be the goodness " and mercy of a God to shew kindness to persons " obstinately and incorrigibly wicked, because it " cannot be the goodness and mercy of a Being infi- " nitely just and holy; for seeing all the divine per- " fections must agree together, that cannot be a di- " vine perfection which contradicts any other per- " fection."

I might proceed to confirm my point from the testimonies of the primitive writers. But, besides that this would be too tedious a work, it is the less necessary, because the truth sufficiently appears, notwithstanding all his disguise, from the authorities collected even by Mr. Whiston himself. The first piece with which he begins his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, after he has done with what he calls the books of the New Testament, is the fragment of Josephus concerning hades. And it is remarkable that this author, though he asserts the wicked shall receive their bodies at the resurrection subject to " the same diseases wherein they died," yet is clearly of opinion that they will not undergo any future dissolution. " To these," says he, " belong an unquench- " able and endless fire; and a certain fiery worm, not " dying, nor destroying the body; but continuing its " eruption out of the body, with never-ceasing grief." For a man to attempt to gloss away such a testimony as this, only shews that he is capable of practising upon any thing that stands in his way. Some other of the testimonies which he produces are so expressly against him, that he has no way to rid his hands of them but by calling one " a poetical de- " scription," another " a philosophical romance;" by

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which sort of expedients one may invalidate any testimonies whatsoever. Arnobius indeed seems to speak to his purpose; but it is to be considered that Arnobius was hardly a Christian when he wrote his book. Nor does he profess, in the particular point before us, to be guided by the authority of scripture, or any Christian writer, but by the authority of Plato. And here indeed lies the root of the matter. It was vain philosophy that made men affect to *be wise above what is written*. Origen is noted by Photius for studying to bring the Greek mythology into the church of God [q]. His singular conceits might find some countenance there, but there are no traces of them to be met with in the scripture. And his being so distinguished by them is a plain argument, that they differed from the common and received doctrine of the catholic church [r]. Windet [s] seems to think that Arnobius borrowed his notion of the Jews; which is not so likely. But wherever he borrowed it, it is certain he had it not from the scripture, which affords no evidence that the wicked shall be "annihilated and come to nothing; and so

[q] Photii Epist. i. p. 11. See also Mr. Ridley's Lecture-Sermons, p. 174.

[r] Quis enim catholicus Christianus vel doctus vel indoctus non vehementer exhorreat eam quam dicit malorum purgationem, id est, etiam eos qui hanc vitam in flagitiis et facinoribus et sacrilegiis atque impietatibus quamlibet maximis finierunt, ipsum etiam postremo Diabolum, atque angelos ejus, quamvis post longissima tempora, purgatos atque liberatos regno Dei lucique restitui? Et rursus post longissima tempora omnes qui liberati sunt, ad hæc mala denuo relabi et reverti, et has vices alternantes beatitudinum et miseriarum rationalis creaturæ semper fuisse, semperque fore? *Aug. de Hæres.* cap. 43.

[s] De Vita Functorum Statu, sect. ix.

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" avoid their pains by being dissolved for ever." As the confession of an adversary is of some weight, I shall conclude with that of Crellius, who says, that neither does the scripture assert, nor any reason evince, that God will annihilate the souls of the wicked after the day of judgment. " Animas impio-" rum Deum post judicium annihilaturum, nec scrip-" tura asserit, nec ratio evincit ulla, multo autem " minus, quod idem nunc faciat." [Vide vol. iv. p. 533. Problem. N. cum solut. J. C.]

I shall now, at the end of this chapter, add a few pages concerning the doctrine of repentance in hades. It is of no great consequence perhaps to the main point, whether that word is used in scripture in a general sense, so as to denote the state of all departed souls both good and bad, or only that of the latter. St. Austin somewhere says, that he nowhere meets with it, (or, what is the same thing, the word that answers to it in Latin,) in the canonical scripture, taken in a good acceptation [t]. But the question is, whether it is not used in a sense in-

[t] " Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro, nec mihi " occurrit inferos alicubi in bono posuisse scripturam, duntaxat " canonicam.——Quamquam et illud me nondum invenisse con-" fiteor, inferos appellatos ubi justorum animæ requiescunt." No; and the reason is, because it has a more complex idea, denoting the state or place of all souls whatsoever. He might have observed, on the other hand, that it does not signify peculiarly the place " ubi impiorum animæ cruciantur." If circumstances in a text sometimes limit it to that sense, yet that does not make the word itself to be of an ill sense, any more than other texts in which it is used, which point out a state of happiness, make it to be of a good sense. It retains the generality of its meaning in both cases; and it is something else in the text, or context, or character of the person, or the like, that gives us the idea of happiness or misery.

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different and general, including the state of all departed souls, abstracting from their happiness or misery. It does not, it is acknowledged, particularly denote the state of good and happy souls; but neither does it, in an exclusive sense, denote the state of those that are miserable. The affair of happiness or misery may indeed often be determined by the context where the word is used, or by other circumstances; but never merely from the use and import of the word itself; which, where it does not mean the *grave* only, the receptacle of the body, denotes that invisible place, or state, which is the receptacle or habitation of souls till the day of judgment [u]. But there is no necessity to intermix any verbal disputes in the question before us. Be this as it will, what follows is certain; that, with regard to the generality of the Christian world, (all, except those who shall then be found alive,) there is an interval, some space of time, more or less, and to many a very long one, between the day of each man's death and the day of the general judgment. The question therefore is the only one that is of practical moment, and in which alone Christians, as such, are now concerned, whether they who die impenitently in their sins, and consequently without pardon in this world, can repent in the interval mentioned, so as to obtain pardon at the last day. It is obvious, that the question thus stated is so distinct from that other, viz. whether Christ or his apostles preached the gospel to the souls in hades who had lived in the ages before the gospel, that the proof of this (if it could be proved) would by no means be a

[u] See Ger. Joh. Vossii Theses Theolog. Disputatio Sexta, de Statu Animæ, p. 94, &c. in 4to. and Suicer sub voce.

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proof likewise of the point in debate. The cases are quite different; and supposing that they preached in hades to the souls of patriarchs, and prophets, and holy men of old, or to all the souls that were then in hades; yet this does not prove that the souls of wicked Christians will repent in hades, or that the gospel will be any more preached to them; since it was preached to them all their life long, and they all their life long disobeyed it.

But because it may be suspected, that, if there ever were any preaching and repentance in hades, there may probably be something of the same kind still, I shall examine the texts of scripture on which that opinion is built. And they are (besides those that have been remarked on already in their respective places) principally two[x], viz. 1 Peter iii. 18, 19, 20. and chap. iv. 6. In the first of these the apostle says, that Christ, *being put to death in the flesh, was quickened by the Spirit:* (not *kept or preserved alive in his human soul, or spirit,* according to the harsh interpretation of some:) *by which* (Spirit) *also he went and preached* (*going he preached,* that is, *he preached,* which is the thing intended, without any regard to local motion) *unto the spirits in prison:* where allowing that *spirits in prison* mean spirits in hades, yet this notion of Christ's preaching to them there does not follow from this text. *He preached,* says St. Peter, *to the spirits that were in prison,* that is, in hades; but he says not a syllable that this preaching to them was after they came into that place. They were when he wrote his Epistle, and they are still, in hades; but the time of Christ's preaching to them *by the Spirit* was evi-

[x] See Number LXXXIII.

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dently in the days of their flesh; even then when they *were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing. Noah* was *a preacher of righteousness* to that generation, and their rejecting his admonitions, being a resisting of the Holy Ghost, was the great aggravation of their *disobedience.* It is impertinent in Mr. Whiston to talk, as from this text, about Christ's preaching in hades "to the old pious "patriarchs;" because if the text had any relation to preaching in hades, it says not that this preaching was "to the old pious patriarchs before the flood," but to the old impious rebels that perished in it; that κόσμος ἀσεβῶν, as St. Peter calls them, 2 Ep. ii. 5. who had so *corrupted* their ways, and *filled the earth with* such *violence,* that nothing could cleanse and restore it but an universal deluge. And though they were so wicked, that *it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth,* yet his *longsuffering waited in the days of Noah* a hundred years, or more, (see Gen. vi. 3.[y]) before he destroyed them. And what good reason then is there to imagine, that Christ should preach in hades to such sinners as these?

If this text does not contain the doctrine of preaching in hades, there is hardly any shadow of pretence left that the other does, viz. 1 Peter iv. 6. *For this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.* That is, says Mr. Whiston, p. 44. "though these old sinners were condemned

[y] See Saurin, Patrick, Biblioth. Biblica, in loc. and Revelation examined with Candour, vol. i. dissertat. 9.

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"to be drowned in the flood, as to their bodies, for "their crimes; yet might they, by this preaching "in hades, be brought afterward to eternal life, in "their spiritual part, or souls." Here, we see, he makes the former text the key to the meaning of this: for otherwise this text says not a word about the "flood," or "the old sinners" that were "drown-"ed" in it, or any thing to that purpose. Consequently here are two things implied, 1. That the former text relates to preaching in hades; 2. That the text in debate must be interpreted by it, and means the same. Neither of which Mr. Whiston has proved, and we are under no obligation to take for granted. It is evident that the former text has nothing to do with preaching in hades; but if it had, why must this last text, in another chapter, and upon another subject, mean the same thing? It is owned that the text is very obscure; and the sentiments of commentators upon it are so various, that I shall not pretend to recite them. If *the dead* here are only the [z] metaphorical dead, men *dead in trespasses and sins*, which at least is possible, the dispute is at an end. If they are *the dead* in a literal sense, it does not follow, nor does St. Peter say, that the gospel was preached to them after they were dead. There is a like form of expression in Ruth ii. 20. *Blessed be he* (viz. Boaz) *who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead:* that is, has continued to be kind to the relicts of Elimelech and his son, as he had been to them when they

[z] A metaphor not unfrequent in scripture, as every one knows: *Let the dead bury their dead*, Matt. viii. 22. *She that liveth in pleasure is dead*, 1 Tim. v. 6. See Eph. ii. 1. Col. ii. 13. and more instances in almost any commentator.

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were alive. [Patrick in loc.] The latter part of the verse in St. Peter shews, that whether they were dead or not at the time of his writing, they were alive when the gospel was preached to them. For it was preached to them *for this cause*, ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ, ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ Θεὸν πνεύματι, *that they might be judged*, &c. If the words be taken actively, in some such sense as this [a], *that they might condemn, might strive against, might mortify* those sensual lusts and appetites which they had indulged *in time past*, when they *wrought the will of the Gentiles*, &c. 1 Peter iv. 3. which is living *according to*, or after the manner of *men in the flesh*, i. e. carnal men; then it is plain the gospel must be preached to them in their lifetime. For it was preached to them for this reason, that they might reform their former vicious life, and lead a new and spiritual life, *living according to God in the spirit*. If the verb κριθῶσι be taken passively, it may denote the judgment either of this world, or the judgment of God. In the former way, the sense may be to this effect; *For this cause the gospel was preached to them, that they might*, or though they might be, or were, *judged or condemned indeed in the flesh, according to men*, i. e. put to death by the judgment of men, as to the body [b], they might nevertheless *live to God in the spirit*, being made partakers of eternal life. Or, the judgment here intended may be God's, in some such sense as the following; viz. *For this cause was the gospel preached to them that are dead*, (i. e. either spiritually dead, or literally so, at the time of St. Peter's writing,) *that they*

[a] See Whitby's note on the place.

[b] Le Clerc, Supplement to Hammond.

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might be condemned who live ***according to men in the flesh*** [c], (who indulge their fleshly lusts in opposition to the light of the gospel, and though they know the judgment of God denounced against those who commit such things, which renders their continuance in them quite inexcusable: ***For this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world,*** &c. John iii. 19.) ***but that they might live*** (in a happy immortality) who walk ***according to God in the spirit;*** who are ***spiritually minded,*** and lead a holy life. There are several other interpretations of this difficult text: which consideration alone may serve to shew how unfit it is to prove any doctrine, which is not agreeable to the tenor of scripture, or contained in some plain passages thereof.

The point before us is certainly not asserted in any one plain text; and that it is not agreeable to the general doctrine and tenor of scripture, is evident. For that uniformly teaches us that this world is our state of trial, and the present life the time in which we are to ***work out our salvation,*** without giving us any hopes, that, if we neglect it, we may retrieve things in hades. There are several passages

[c] Subaudiendum *οἱ*, ante *κατὰ ἀνθρώπους*, et ante *κατὰ Θεὸν*, ellipsi admodum familiari, de qua vide Animad. 1 Cor. ii. 2. *Ad hoc enim et mortuis prædicatum est* sive *evangelizatum, ut damnarentur qui erant secundum homines in carne, vivant autem qui* erant *secundum Deum in spiritu;* i. e. ut damnarentur qui incedebant vel vivebant *ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις,* &c. *in cupiditatibus hominum;* salventur vero qui vivebant *ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ, in voluntate Dei,* ut est ver. 2. phrasis est omnino eadem apud Paulum, Rom. viii. 5. *Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα, τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. Qui enim sunt secundum carnem quæ carnis sunt sapiunt, qui vero sunt secundum Spiritum, ea quæ sunt Spiritus.* Sir Norton Knatchbull in loc.

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in the Old Testament which are inconsistent with any expectations of this kind.—*In death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?* or, make confession unto thee [d].—*The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence* [e].—*For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the fathers to the children shall make known thy truth* [f]. The meaning of which passages, and many more to the same purpose, is not, as the Sadducees collected from them, that the soul dies with the body, and that there is no future state at all; but the meaning of them is to the same purpose with that of our Lord, John ix. 4. *the night cometh, when no man can work:* the same with this of Solomon, Eccles. ix. 10. *Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.* And again, chap. xi. 3. *if the tree fall toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be.* [See Num. XLV.] And with these testimonies of the

[d] Psalm vi. 5. Τί γὰρ οἶδας ἄνθρωπε ἁμαρτήσας, εἰ ἡμέρας ζήσεις ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιῷ, ἵνα καὶ μετανοήσῃς; ὅτι ἄδηλος ἡ ἔξοδός σου ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἀπάρχει, καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ τελευτήσαντι μετάνοια οὐκ ἔσται· ὡς λέγει διὰ τοῦ Δαβίδ. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἅδῃ τίς ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι; Constit. Apost. lib. ii. cap. 13. Confer Menasseh Ben-Israel de Resurrect. Mort. lib. i. cap. 14.

[e] Psalm cxv. 17.

[f] Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19. Idem dicit quod nos ante diximus. Hunc scilicet mundum esse, in quo virtus et vitium locum habent: in altero vero tantum operum remunerationem locum habere. *Menasseh Ben-Israel, ubi sup.*

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Old Testament the whole tenor of the New agrees; which every where plainly supposes, that there is no alteration of our moral state, as to the nature and kind of it, between death and the day of judgment. When the dead are raised, and appear at the great tribunal[g], the inquiry is what they have done in this world, *that every one may receive the things done in his body,* 2 Cor. v. 10. *It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment,* Heb. ix. 27. No reckoning, we see, is at all made of the middle state; but it is passed over, as if it really were what it is sometimes called and compared to, a state of sleep; or as if no such period had intervened between the day of each man's death, and the day of the general judgment. All which is utterly unaccountable, considering how vastly longer that period is to the greatest part of mankind than the term of human life, if that also, like the present, be a state of moral agency, in which men may alter the temper and habits which they contracted in this world, and with which they left it[h]. There is as little probability of reason as proof from scripture for this imagination. The very nature of the separate state is ill suited to it. For new habits must be acquired by exercise, and a repetition of the same

[g] See Matt. xxv.

[h] Quod si alia interveniat vita ante judicium; eaque talis, ut bene aut male agendi, virtutis et vitii, æque capax sit ac hodierna, eaque multo longior sit et diuturnior: nullam video rationem, cur ab hodierna vita sola, breviuscula, incommoda, et innumeris tentationibus obnoxia, pendeat totum pondus æternitatis, vel sortis futuræ; altera illa, multo majoris momenti, neglecta penitus, vel pro nihilo habita. *Burnet De Stat. Mort.* p. 98. See also Sherlock on Death, sect. vii. "That death translates us to an un-
" changeable state."

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acts; and virtuous habits must proceed from free choice. But what scope or opportunity will there be in hades for the acts and exercise of several virtues? for justice, charity, temperance, and many more? They will be restrained from committing the acts indeed of intemperance, and other vices, by the very nature of their condition: but what morality is there in this? where is the virtue that proceeds from free choice?

But the deficiency in the nature of the separate state in this respect may perhaps be supplied by advantages of another kind, and what it wants in virtue may be compensated by punishment. For "the "fire or flame of gehenna extends into such parts of "hades as wicked men, who are not incurably so, "are forced into, long before the day of judgment." And "this preliminary eruption of that fire or flame "is intended as a punishment necessary for the re-"pentance and recovery of lesser offenders[i]." Of which expedients I need only say, that if the hypothesis of repentance in hades be so weak as to totter with its own weight, it is not likely to support this additional heap of absurdities with which Mr. Whiston has loaded it. It is hard to say how this material fire can affect immaterial substance[k]; or, if it could,

[i] Mr. Whiston's Discourse, p. 115.

[k] If it should be said, that the soul is not immaterial, it should be remembered, on the other hand, that the contrary has been proved by several excellent writers, Dr. Clarke, the author of the Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, &c. The only refuge then, I conceive, must be in some "material vehicle," or "aerial "body:" and this, an author I have been concerned with before says, "is demonstrable from philosophy and apparitions." [Letter, &c. concerning Origen, p. 65.] But as he has not explained his argument from philosophy, and as the other from apparitions

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how it is calculated to produce real virtue. All punishment, it is certain, has not this effect; for then that of gehenna would not terminate, as Mr. W. supposes, in annihilation.

But want of proof, or probability, is not the worst circumstance in this affair. It has an ill aspect on practical religion; and may for that reason be justly suspected to be no part of that gospel which contains only *the doctrine which is according to godliness*. The great argument for *working out our salvation* in the present life, *while it is called to-day*, is, *because the night cometh, when no man can work*. But if men are once taught to believe that there will be *another day*, that will answer their purpose as well; it is natural to think, that they will be too apt to trust to that resource, and so live and die without repentance. I don't say that this conduct would be reasonable, but that it is likely to be fact, considering how strongly men are attached to their old and favourite sins. It is from a sentiment of this kind that bishop Bull[1] expresses himself with so much warmth, with regard to the popish doctrine of purgatory; which he calls "a gross "imposition, that hath been, he is persuaded, the "eternal ruin of thousands of souls, for whom our "blessed Lord shed his most precious blood, who

is too slippery to build any thing upon, I may dismiss this doctrine of vehicles with the censure of Mr. Locke; "Should *aerial* "and *ætherial vehicles* come once, by the prevalency of that doc-"trine, to be generally received any where, no doubt those terms "would make impressions on men's minds, so as to establish "them in the persuasion of the reality of such things, as much as "peripatetic forms and intentional species have heretofore done." *Essay*, vol. ii. p. 96. 8vo.

[1] English Works, vol. i. p. 115.

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" might have escaped hell, if they had not trusted " to a purgatory." This makes a material difference between Mr. Whiston's doctrine, and that of some of the early writers of the church. Their opinion, though groundless perhaps, was however harmless; was matter of speculation, which had no ill influence on Christian morality, nor was of ill consequence to the souls of men. For what if Christ, or his apostles, preached in hades to the old pious patriarchs [m],—or to all the holy men of old, who in their respective ages believed in a Messiah to come, —or even to the good men in the heathen world, who had cultivated the principles of virtue;—what is this to the case of Christians? Don't the same writers declare, as plainly as a few words can declare, that with regard to these last there is no repentance in hades? When Mr. W. meets with such declarations as these, he tells us, that he is " obliged to un- " derstand" them with respect only " to great and " enormous sins; such as prevented the hopes of " amendment in hades," &c. p. 62. But howsoever he may be obliged to understand them, to make them consistent with his own hypothesis, they are easy enough to be understood in themselves, in a sense perfectly consistent with that other opinion concerning the gospel's being preached in hades to those who had lived in the ages before it.

[m] See Cyril. Hieros. edit. Mills, p. 53. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. p. 762. cum not. Reverendissimi, and Cotelerius, not. in Herm. Past. lib. iii. sim. 9. Quinetiam ad omnes solosque eos ex mortuis pertinuisse prædicationem et salutem, qui dum viverent, credide- rant in Christum venturum, virtutique operam navaverant, doc- trina quoque est multorum.

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CHAP. VI.

The use and importance of the doctrine defended above.

AS nothing will excuse the prolixity with which I have treated this subject but the moment of it, I think myself concerned to shew that this is an article of some weight; and not a point of small or ill consequence, as some affect to represent it[a]. Mr. Whiston, for instance, tells us, p. 102. that "this "proper eternity of hell torments, is no fundamen- "tal doctrine of Christianity." His reason is, because it is "entirely omitted in all the five original "catalogues that we have of those fundamental doc- "trines." Where, supposing the report to be true, the argument is inconclusive: for, though he is pleased to dignify them with the name of "cata- "logues of fundamental doctrines," every one who looks into them will be satisfied that they are no such thing. Creeds were never designed for complete catalogues of fundamentals[b]; and the original

[a] It is not easy to tell what Mr. W. distinctly means. If the eternity of punishment be no doctrine of Christianity at all, as the whole purpose of his book is to prove, there is no occasion to shew that it is no fundamental doctrine. But if his meaning be, that, supposing it true, it is still not important doctrine, it seems to contradict what he says, p. 104; where his argument plainly implies that if it were true, it would be a "most import- "ant article." And therefore he argues against the truth of it, because this "most important article" is so hastily passed over by the apostles; that is, his pretended apostles in the Constitutions. Here the importance of it seems to be plainly acknowledged.

[b] See Dr. Waterland's Lecture-Sermons, p. 321, &c. Remarks

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and oldest creeds are least of all so, being generally the shortest. As heresies sprung up in after-ages, creeds became larger and more explicit, to be a guard and security to the faith. Several articles omitted might be of equal importance, but as they were not equally opposed and denied, there was not the same necessity to insert them in those short summaries of faith. It is therefore no just inference, that because an article is omitted in the oldest creeds, it is consequently not fundamental.

But how, after all, and in what sense, is the point in question omitted in the creeds or catalogues mentioned? No otherwise than the perpetuity of the joys of heaven is omitted; that is, neither of them is expressed particularly, but such general terms are used as, when explained according to scripture, imply both. *The resurrection both of the just and unjust, the judgment, and the retribution,* must in all reason be understood agreeably to scripture ideas; and then they will comprehend *the resurrection unto life, and the resurrection of damnation,* John v. 29. Judgment unto justification, and judgment to condemnation, and the retribution consequent thereon, when the wicked shall *go into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal,* Matt. xxv. 46. It is however of no great consequence, and hardly worth disputing, whether these Constitution Creeds contain our doctrine, or not. For though Mr. W. reckons them of most sacred, they are evidently of very uncertain authority, which is next to none. There are plain marks of their being later

upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition, p. 73, &c. Importance, &c. p. 244. Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, p. 285. Discourse of Fundamentals, p. 40.

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than the age they pretend to, even in the very chapters referred to by Mr. W., by their opposing heresies which did not rise till afterwards, and using phrases unknown to the apostolical age [c]. But so far as their authority is of any weight, they cast it all in the present case into the right scale. For they decree positively for the natural immortality of the soul, and they declare that there are some impious wretches who will never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come [d]. And what the just and natural consequence is of these things laid together, I leave any unprejudiced man to judge.

"The last and most imperfect catalogue," Mr. W. says, "is in the Epistle to the Hebrews;" viz. ch. vi. 1, 2. To which I answer, first, that it is no catalogue of fundamentals at all [e]; but a short summary of the elementary doctrines, the first principles, as it were, of Christian knowledge, without which they could hardly be so much as *babes* in Christ. In the next place I assert, that this catalogue, perfect or imperfect, contains the doctrine in dispute; for κρίμα αἰώνιον and κρίσις αἰώνιος never signify any thing else in the New Testament. I return him therefore his argument, and observe, that this must be an article of some importance, since it is found in so short a summary even of the principles of the doctrine of Christ. What Mr. W. next relates is of no great

[c] Vid. Constitut. lib. vi. cap. 11. et lib. vii. cap. 41. cum not. Cotelerii et Clerici in loc.

[d] With the passages just referred to compare the following: lib. vi. cap. 10. lib. i. cap. 6. lib. v. cap. 6. lib. vi. cap. 18, 26. lib. vii. cap. 32.

[e] See this proved in Dr. Waterland's Discourse concerning Fundamentals, p. 43, &c.

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consequence, supposing it all just, viz. that "Creeds" (so I understand him to mean) "generally omit the "direct mention of the punishment of the wicked "on purpose; as of small consequence, in compa- "rison of the article of the happiness of the good." Another writer likewise observes, "we every day "repeat in our Creed, *I believe in life everlasting*. "The compilers certainly forgot to add, *I believe in* "*death everlasting*. This omission may, at least, "convince us, that they did not look on that article "as an essential point[f]." Here, not to mention that some creeds of very great antiquity, such as those of Irenæus, as is allowed by Mr. W. himself, do enlarge on this article; I maintain that the argument is of no weight. For the creeds which omit it, do not omit it for this reason, because it is "of small "consequence," or because the compilers looked on it as no "essential point;" but upon other accounts, and principally, perhaps, because it is sufficiently implied in what is expressed, viz. *the retribution, the life of the world to come, or the life everlasting*. I am sensible Mr. W. will not admit of this; for he blames bishop Pearson, and some others of our modern comments, for including this punishment in the article. I know not what comments he means, but I will take the liberty to cite the words of two, which overthrow all he suggests to the contrary: "The resurrection of the dead is in order to that "final judgment which shall pass upon all mankind "as soon as they are raised. The effect of this "judgment will be the separating of men according "to their deserts, and appointing them their dif-

[f] Letters concerning the State of Souls, &c. p. 384. in not.

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" ferent portions in that eternal state which shall " succeed the dissolution of this present world. " Which eternal state is, in the present article, " styled *the life everlasting*; from that more ex- " cellent part of it, which is the state of happiness " for the righteous. But it includes also, by neces- " sary consequence, that state of punishment or mi- " sery, into which the wicked shall be sent at the " great day." Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Cate- chism, p. 140. The other person is the late lord chancellor King, who concludes his Critical History of the Apostles' Creed as follows:—" The Gnostics, " as it hath been already related in the fifth chapter " of this Treatise, unto which I refer the reader, di- " vided all mankind into three parts, earthly, ani- " mal, and spiritual; the first of which, and part of " the second, they affirmed, would be annihilated, or " reduced to nothing, by the general conflagration at " the last day, whilst only the spiritual, and part of " the animal, should be made immortal and eternal. " To obviate which opinion, as it seems most pro- " bable, the rulers of the church did in those days " subjoin to the *resurrection* the clause of *life ever- " lasting*, that thereby that heresy might be con- " tradicted and warded against: from whence we " find, that Irenæus, a cotemporary with these here- " tics, and their greatest antagonist and confuter, " doth, in opposition to their heresy, thus para- " phrastically express in his Creed the final deter- " mination of every man, that after the resurrection " Christ shall render a righteous judgment unto all; " 'wicked, unjust, ungodly and blasphemous men, " he shall send into everlasting fire; but unto the

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" just and righteous, and those who kept his com-
" mandments, he shall give immortality, and eternal
" glory.' And in another of his Creeds he thus
" words it, that Christ 'shall come in glory to be a
" Saviour of those who are saved, and a Judge of
" those who are judged, sending the corrupters of
" his truth, and the contemners of his Father, and
" his coming, into eternal fire.' And to the same
" effect it is in a Creed of Tertullian's, which he
" designedly repeats in opposition to the Gnostics,
" and other heretics of his time, that Christ shall
" come in glory 'to receive the saints into the fruit
" of eternal life, and to sentence the profane to
" everlasting fire.' From all which it appears, that
" this clause was levelled against the forementioned
" heresy of the Gnostics; and that it includes the
" final and eternal state of every man, of the damned
" in hell, as well as of the blessed in heaven; that, on
" the one hand, the wicked and miserable shall for
" ever suffer under the loads of divine vengeance;
" and that, on the other hand, the godly and blessed
" shall for ever live in the perpetual fruition of pure
" and undisturbed happiness: the eternity of both
" which persons and states are included by St.
" Austin in his explication of this article, that after
" the resurrection and universal judgment, 'the
" godly shall happily live in eternal life, but the
" wicked miserably, without the power of dying, in
" eternal death, because they shall both be without
" end.' Wherewith agrees the Creed, commonly
" called the Creed of St. Athanasius, that at Christ's
" coming, all men shall rise again with their bodies,
" and shall give account for their own works; *and*

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" *they that have done good shall go into life ever-*
" *lasting; and they that have done evil, into ever-*
" *lasting fire.*"

But this point must not be decided merely by the authority of creeds. If they had not contained it so expressly as some of them do, yet still if it be scripture doctrine, if it be insisted upon, repeated, inculcated in the word of God, it must be a doctrine of great importance. For, besides that it is not reasonable to think that scripture should frequently inculcate points of little weight or use, this is a doctrine of such a particular nature, that if it be a truth at all, it must be a truth of moment. It is indeed no less than this, that men may incur a miserable eternity by their behaviour here. And surely this can never be considered as a matter of small consequence, in which men are very little concerned. How plainly this doctrine is taught in scripture, and how frequently repeated there, may be collected from the former part of this work.

We may examine this matter in another light: the sanctions of the Christian covenant, which bind it, and give it its due weight and efficacy, must be looked upon as essential to the covenant. " Accord-
" ingly, the doctrine of a future state must be a
" fundamental doctrine, as it is the principle of all
" religion: for without it there can be no sufficient
" inducement to the constant and conscientious prac-
" tice of virtue and piety. The doctrine also of a
" resurrection, and final judgment by Christ our
" Lord, together with the doctrines of a heaven for
" the righteous, and a hell for the ungodly, are fun-
" damental points of Christian theology. To deny
" or disbelieve these doctrines, is to overturn the

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"covenant, because it directly tends to defeat and "frustrate the end and use of it, undermining its "binding force, and sapping its influences, depriving "it of its life, strength, and energy[g]." The only reply to this worth mentioning, must be, I conceive, to the following purpose: that the doctrine of a future state of retribution is one thing, and that of eternal punishment another; and that, however fundamental the general doctrine may be, yet this circumstance of the perpetuity, this particular explication of the article, is so far from being fundamental, that it is rather a point of small consequence.

The light in which we are now viewing this doctrine is, its influence on practice. And it should seem that it is the eternity of the punishment which gives it its chief weight and edge, and makes it pierce deepest into the hearts of sinners. It is the notion that that miserable state will admit of neither remedy or end, that alarms their fears, that restrains their wickedness within some bounds, and is most likely, after all, to make them repent of it. It seems natural to think that it must be so in reason, and it evidently appears to be so in fact. Don't we see with what eagerness licentious men of every kind embrace the hypothesis of temporary punishments? what can be the reason of this, but that they find ease and relief in this persuasion? They are resolved not to leave their sins, and the greatest consolation their case will admit of, is to believe as firmly as they can, that they shall not suffer eternally for them. The general doctrine of a future state gives them no great disturbance, and therefore

[g] Waterland of Fundamentals, p. 23.

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they are content, for the most part, to let that alone. But inculcate once the eternity of hell torments, and the world of the ungodly, the whole confederacy of the wicked, is up in arms; a plain indication where the matter pinches, and that it is this particular which renders them unable to enjoy ease of mind and the pleasures of vice together.

What these men prove by their practice, our adversaries themselves, some of them, confirm by their judgment. They seem to be sensible that their doctrine may be of ill consequence; and are therefore for having it kept as a sort of secret from the generality of mankind, many of whom are hardly restrained by the fear even of eternal punishment from running into all manner of vice. This appears from the quotation below to have been the sentiment of Origen[h]; and that it was so also of Dr. Burnet[i] is evident (not to mention other things) from the express caveat he enters against the translation of his book. Mr. Whiston however is of another opinion; though, by denying the perpetuity both of reward and punishment, he has done more

[h] —Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκίνδυνον τὴν τῶν τοιούτων σαφήνειαν πιστεῦσαι γραφῇ ἅτε τῶν πολλῶν οὐ χρῃζόντων πλείονος διδασκαλίας παρὰ τὴν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κολάσεως. εἰς γὰρ τὰ ὑπερέκεινα αὐτῆς οὐ χρήσιμον ἀναβαίνειν, διὰ τοὺς μόγις φόβῳ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως κᾆν συστέλλοντας ἐπὶ ποσὸν τῆς κακίας, καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἁμαρτανομένων, χύσιν. Origen. cont. Cels. lib. vi. p. 292. ed. Spencer.

—Veruntamen meminisse semper debemus, quod præsentem locum apostolus quasi mysterium habere voluit; quo scilicet hujusmodi sensus fideles quique et perfecti intra semetipsos velut mysterium Dei silentio tegant, nec passim imperfectis et minus capacibus proferant. *Orig. in fine libri octavi Explanationum in Epist. ad Romanos.* Vid. Spenceri not. ubi sup.

[i] De Statu Mort. et Resurgent. cap. xi. ad finem.

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perhaps than any man living, to destroy the comfort of good men, and hinder the repentance of the wicked, yet he seems to be satisfied that his doctrine is likely to have as good influence as the contrary. They, who will not suffer themselves to be moved by it, he imagines, "will hardly ever be "moved by the supposal of this absolute, but, to a "free reasoner, perfectly incredible eternal duration "of that punishment." P. 141. And thus far we agree, that where eternal punishment is not believed, it is not likely to influence. His "free reasoners" therefore are out of the question: unless their free living may serve to shew the natural tendency of such principles, and in what they generally end. However, this point must not be decided merely by practice. Many who pretend to believe, or at least do not profess to deny, a miserable eternity, do by no means act agreeably to that persuasion. Want of consideration, as well as want of faith, may defeat the just influence which it ought, and otherwise would have upon them. The question is, which of the two opinions is best calculated in its own nature to secure obedience? a question, one would think, which can admit of no dispute. For sure the duration of any punishment is a matter of some weight. The longer this duration is likely to be, the more is the punishment to be feared and avoided: and, consequently, eternal punishment is more to be feared than any other punishment whatsoever. It is for this reason, we say, that eternal punishment is threatened in scripture: none other is so well adapted to secure obedience to the divine laws. And admitting the premises, which I have proved before, viz. that eternal punishment is threatened, it follows demonstrably

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from the wisdom of God, that it is the likeliest means to answer the end proposed [k]. This point of the importance then will rest, after all, on the point of the truth; and if this has been established, we need be in no pain about the former.

There is however another writer to whom I must pay my respects once more before I conclude. The French Letter Writer is confident that the doctrine he opposes is so very incredible, that no man can believe it. "We only imagine we believe it;" and he "dares "be positive, that no man is really persuaded of it." In this view it is an easy thing for him to prove, that it is not likely to produce any great effects. "Nothing that is overstrained, or seems exaggerat- "ed, strikes the mind. Let a schoolmaster tell his "scholar that his father will hang him, if he doth "not study; he laughs at the menace: it is too "much disproportioned both to his own demerits, "and the idea he entertains of his father's equity [l]." All this appears to me to be a way of reasoning very singular and surprising. Whether God has revealed the doctrine of eternal punishment in the scriptures, and whether Christians do, and ever did, believe it, seem to me to be inquiries of fact. But this gentleman proves *a priori*, as it were, if he proves any thing, that neither of these can be the case. For a Being of infinite wisdom can never propose that, as a motive of fear and obedience, which is so in-

[k] Et revera nisi magis abhorruisset natura humana a summa miseria et æterno cruciatu, quam ab insensibilitate aut annihilatione, Deus minatus fuisset improbis annihilationem, non æternum cruciatum, atque eo modo homines a vitiis magis deterruisset. *Burnet, ubi sup.*

[l] Letters, &c. p. 404.

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credible in itself that no man can really believe it. Instead therefore of following this writer in his reveries and *a priori* reasonings, it is sufficient to appeal to scripture for the determination of one of these inquiries, and to fact and experience for the other. Only I would take notice that his case of the schoolmaster and the scholar, is so far from being a parallel one, or any illustration at all of the case in hand, that it comes not up to it in one circumstance. Put the case thus: a father threatens his son, that if he will persist in his course of most obstinate disobedience and rebellion, he must, and will, disinherit him; the consequence of which will be all imaginable misery and distress. Will the son have any reason to "laugh at the menace?" He may indeed, through self-flattery and self-deceit, think it "too much disproportioned to his own demerits;" or he may hope, from the weakness and fond indulgence of a human parent, that his father will be better than his word. And thus as to the threats of eternal misery, sinners may deceive themselves;—may entertain too low thoughts of the evil, guilt, and malignity of sin in general, or of their own in particular;—or may have some mistaken notions concerning the mercy of God. But all this is their own act and their own fault, and does not follow from the doctrine itself, but is owing to their abuse or disbelief of it. And this is answer enough to what this writer further suggests, viz. that our doctrine is of ill consequence to the morals of men. "For," says he, "if they are not professed highwaymen, traitors, "blasphemers, &c. they cannot conceive that God "will condemn them to frightful and endless tor-"ments." Nay, "not only these persons flatter them-

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" selves with impunity, but even sinners of the first " magnitude, traitors, and the perjured, &c. all of " them, to a man, hope to escape hell, either by re- " penting, as they propose to do, sooner or later; or " through the infinite mercy of God, that will get " the better of justice, as they speak." P. 291. And so truly because men are *hardened through the deceitfulness of sin*, because they flatter and impose upon themselves, and disbelieve the word of God; because *wickedness alters their understandings, and deceit beguiles their souls*; therefore the doctrine of eternal torments is of ill consequence. Come then, let us change it at once, and introduce this author's system of a purification and restoration. See the wonderful effects of this new system! the highwaymen and traitors, the perjured persons, and sinners of the first magnitude, are converted, and become good Christians! But seriously, what reason is there to expect such effects from such a cause? may not this doctrine be abused, and made an encouragement to continue in sin, as well as ours? Is it not easy for a sinner of this persuasion to delude himself, and think that a small share of purifying punishment will serve his turn; after which he shall be restored to happiness and the favour of God? The author suggests in another place, (p. 173.) that " the apprenticeship which they must serve in the " other world will prove harder than it would have " been in this." Be it so; yet men attached to their vices would trust the event: they would willingly believe that it would not be very long, or very severe; and they would enjoy the pleasures and profits of sin during this life, since they could redeem matters in the next. In short, our Lord and his apostles

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have plainly told us, what sort of men *shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* If any such sinners flatter themselves with the hopes of impunity, it is only a proof of the deceitfulness or infidelity of their own evil hearts; and the consequence be to themselves. The doctrine of everlasting punishment is not to be blamed for it, which has only this in common with other truths of religion, that it may be perverted, and made an ill use of, by particular men. And if this once be made the rule of our rejecting them, it is hard to say what we shall be able to retain.

There is another thing intimated to shew the ill consequence of this doctrine, which is this; that it prejudices men against the Christian religion, and hinders them from embracing it. And supposing the fact, how would the gentlemen who give us this intimation have us behave in the case? All that can reasonably be done is to *search the scriptures,* and examine whether this doctrine be really contained in them. If it be, we have no warrant either to conceal or disguise it; we are to take our religion as we find it in the Bible, and not model a new one for ourselves. Nor would such conduct, if it were allowable, be prudent; it would neither pass undetected nor uncensured. The persons who now pretend that they cannot digest Christianity with this hard article in it, would be ready to expose any thing that looked like *handling the word of God deceitfully.* They would reproach Christians for not understanding or not believing the very charter of their religion. Your gospel, would they say, plainly teaches the eternity of hell torments; a point which none of you believe, and which your preachers are ashamed to teach. This would be the language of

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infidelity; and men inclined that way would still retain their prejudices against Christianity.

In a word, this point must be determined by the merits of the cause. If the doctrine here asserted be any real doctrine of the New Testament at all, it is a doctrine of considerable weight, and ought, so far from being concealed or disguised, frequently to be inculcated, and plainly laid before the people[m]. How can any minister answer it before God, if any soul should miscarry through his silence or unfaithfulness in this great affair? And what can be more likely to lead men into this place of torments, than drawing a veil over it, and hiding the most dreadful part of it from their view? *The terrors of the Lord*, when fairly represented, may *persuade men:* at least, if they will not, it is difficult to say what else will be effectual to this purpose. With this view I have drawn up this essay, and this is the best apology I can make for writing upon this subject.

[m] See Mr. Whiston's book, p. 135, &c.

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ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON A LATE PAMPHLET,

(J. Jackson's)

ENTITLED,

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY ASSERTED,

AND THE

SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY VINDICATED,

BY

A CLERGYMAN IN THE COUNTRY.

BY

MATTHEW HORBERY, B. D.

I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks, Acts ix. 5.

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PREFACE.

EVERY one that has read the pamphlet of Christian Liberty asserted, &c. immediately perceived that it was below Dr. Waterland's notice; that as the argumentative part of it was little more than repetition, and had been fully answered in the doctor's former books, instead of being a distinct reply to his last; so the bitter railing and reproaches interspersed throughout, might be safely trusted with every intelligent and candid reader, as incapable of hurting any one besides the man who used them. Some reply, however, was judged not altogether needless; as the pamphlet might fall into the hands of such who are not sufficiently versed in the controversy to discover how impertinent and trite a performance it is; and chiefly, because some men never think themselves answered, if permitted to have the last word; and are apt to boast that their arguments are invincible, if not confuted as often as they are idle enough to revive them. It is upon this account that I have drawn up the following sheets; not pretending to make any new discoveries in them, or to bring any fresh support to the catholic cause, which at this time of day really wants none; but referring the reader chiefly to the learned and unanswered labours already published upon this subject, and particularly to that set of works so often quoted, which ought to be in every one's hands who may be led by curiosity, or engaged in duty, to make this controversy a part of his studies. If these be read with impartiality and attention, they must of consequence be read with great improvement and advantage; and the reverend author will need no further vindication from this writer's calumnies; and therefore I have been very little solicitous upon this head, as well knowing that the reputation here attacked is as inca-

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pable of being advanced by my praises, as of being sullied by this defamer's invectives, or lessened by his censure.

I have sometimes supposed myself in the Arian hypothesis, and a friend in particular to the Country Clergyman; and then to be asked the reason by some stranger, why he treats Dr. Waterland in so boisterous and brutish a manner, as even the greatest provocations would hardly excuse, and nothing but the most inveterate spite and malice could suggest. To give a plain narrative of the controversy between them would by no means be accepted as a satisfactory answer. I could inform the inquirer, that some years ago the Country Clergyman had fallen in with Dr. Clarke's notions of the Trinity; that upon this, Dr. Waterland was prevailed upon to send him some Queries, to put him upon defending his new notions, if they were defensible; or, if he found them not so, to forsake them for his old; that the doctor proposed to carry on this conference in a friendly and private manner, but was forced into public controversy by the clergyman himself, who, without his leave or notice, committed the Queries with an answer to them to the press; that thither at length the doctor determined to follow him; and, in the judgment of most men, managed the debate with great learning, and used his opponent with great tenderness; that the clergyman soon found that he had engaged in an affair to which he was by no means equal, and was therefore obliged to call in the assistance of the two great champions of the cause, one of which at last took the debate into his own hands; that though the doctor was thus forced to engage with odds of number, and in the dark, yet his adversaries had no reason to say that he lost his temper, or transgressed the rules of decency in writing; that in all controversies severe things are said on both sides, the nature of the debate, or truth itself, sometimes requiring it; and that in this, if the doctor sometimes expressed himself sharply, through his indignation at what he thought weak arguments or unfair quotations, the other party had no reason to resent, because they themselves used the same liberties. I beg the reader to remember, that I am here sup-

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posing myself an Arian; and supposing too at the same time, that I had some degree of impartiality left, (which it must be owned is a pretty hard supposition,) I see not but that I might give much such an account as this to an inquirer.

But then I fear he would be apt to draw a conclusion, by no means favourable to my friend the Country Clergyman. He would suspect that he had been instrumental to his own defeat, by forcing into the field of controversy a gentleman, so much superior to himself in the abilities and qualifications which it requires; and who had so effectually baffled both him and his assistants, that the rancour and bitterness of his present manner of writing were (as is usual in such cases) only the effects of his rage, resentment, and despair.

Let me now, in my proper character, venture to affirm, that this conclusion is just; or at least to desire our author to furnish us with a better reason for his conduct. Had Dr. Waterland failed in his attempt, yet it was so kindly intended, that a grateful mind would upon that account have abstained from all insolent language and personal abuse. But had he failed, he had not met with this usage: it is his success that creates envy, and it is envy and the like black passions that have opened our author's mouth against him, in the lowest and vilest terms of scurrility and reproach.

But his calumnies and invectives are not confined to the modern defenders of the orthodox faith; the fathers of the fourth century particularly are treated by him with as little ceremony and respect. He is not content to charge them with introducing such corruptions as he calls "impious, "antichristian, diabolical;" but he erects a tribunal over their consciences, and definitively pronounces (p. 3.) that these corruptions were "wilful." Thus again, p. 48, 49, they are a "parcel of false witnesses,"—"engaged to sup- "port innovations made in the faith," &c. Upon these accounts, as well as for the detested cause which he promotes, I make no apology, and offer no excuse for any harsh expressions that may be dropt concerning him in the follow-

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ing pages. He has lost all title to respect; and it is a piece of justice, which we owe to the fair writer and the modest man, to treat such as are of a quite contrary character with contempt or abhorrence.

It is a maxim of apostolical authority, that *evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived*[a]. The learned prelate, who confuted the late blasphemous discourses upon the miracles of our blessed Saviour, has shewn by what steps and gradations the wretched author of them arrived at that pitch of profaneness[b]. And it is not merely to throw an odium upon this writer, if I mention him as another instance in which that apostolical maxim is sadly verified. If we compare his first performance in the cause of Arianism with his last, there is so visible an alteration for the worse, that one would hardly suppose them to be written by the same hand. His positions then were less shocking, his assertions not so bold and impious, but, above all, his manner was far less execrable and unrighteous. "Whoever opposes him now" (to return him his own words) "must expect nothing but rage and rude-"ness." Misreport, misrepresentation, calumny, and slander, run through (I need not add almost) every page. This as to his manner; then, as to his heresy itself, he has sure now carried it as far as he will attempt to carry it, and as far as he can desire. The charge of making Christ a creature was not long since highly resented, but he is now made a creature with a witness;—a limited creature like one of us, confined to the dimensions of a human body; and yet even this body is represented as capable of adding increase of glory and happiness to the Son of God.

But not to make this preface too disproportionate to the piece to which it belongs, I shall only lay before the reader some general observations on our author's performance; which though he may perhaps meet with again separately, yet it will not be improper to throw together in this place,

[a] 2 Tim. iii. 13.

[b] See the preface to the first volume of bishop Smalbroke's Vindication of the Miracles of our blessed Saviour.

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that he may thus get some idea of the man and his management at one view: as,

1. He has given up the present question, concerning the importance of the doctrine, in the first page, and wanders into the other concerning its truth, which is wide and foreign to the purpose.

2. He calls for proofs of the truth of the doctrine, in a book not intended to prove the truth, but the importance chiefly, or solely; whereas, had his design been to dispute the truth, he should have made his pamphlet an Answer to Dr. Waterland's several Defences, a just and complete answer, if possible.

3. In his contesting the truth of the doctrine, he drops the main part of all, the defensive part, never replying to the many and solid proofs given from scripture and antiquity, to shew that God the Son is "uncreated, necessarily "existing, eternal, one God with the Father; not another "God, but having the same common dominion," and entitled to the same "common adoration." Those proofs are left in their full force as before, unconsidered, unexamined, untouched; and the author pretends only to object, or to bring counter-proofs, such as they are.

4. In producing his counter-proofs, he has only revived and repeated stale things, before confuted by bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland. Whose solutions were never yet particularly replied to; neither has this writer taken notice of them: which is a shrewd presumption that he has nothing to rejoin.

5. To these several articles of disingenuous dealing, he has added this other, that he has, for the most part, misrepresented not only the ancients, but moderns also, such as bishop Pearson and bishop Bull; but more particularly Dr. Waterland, almost every where, as often as he mentions him.

6. To many gross misrepresentations, he has further added scurrilities in great variety, without any just provocation, so far as appears.

As to myself, I have been so little desirous to enlarge

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the catalogue, or aggravate the nature of his unjust and abusive passages, that I have scarce perhaps pointed out what may be judged sufficient to justify my own charges. But more than one of his late productions may yet be come at, which will witness for me; and I was unwilling to transcribe what must be offensive to most readers, and agreeable to none but such as have a very corrupt taste, or a most unchristian temper. Neither have I very likely exposed all his unfair dealing with regard to ancient authorities; because I did not think it worth my while to examine all his quotations: but I think I may say, that I have given such a specimen, as is enough to make any man, who is not willing to be deceived, cautious how he trusts him upon his bare word.

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ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON A LATE PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY ASSERTED, &c.

THE author whom I have undertaken to remark upon, gives his pamphlet the title of *Christian Liberty asserted, and the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated;* whereas the liberty asserted in his book is as far from being *Christian*, as his doctrine of the Trinity is from being *scriptural.* However, though his title-page be thus justly exceptionable, he shews himself not a little wiser than ordinary, in not calling his book *an Answer to Dr. Waterland's Importance*, &c. Indeed it is nothing less; and if this attack be all that the party is able to make against it, we may justly esteem it unanswerable. The point which the doctor was to prove, (and which he solidly has proved,) was the importance of the doctrine of the holy Trinity. What now has our author said against this? Why, he entirely gives up the point in the very first page;—"the doctrine "of the Trinity," says he, "as revealed and de- "clared in scripture, is an important doctrine." One would think then that the controversy should be determined, and all the rest that follows in our author should be wholly impertinent, and wide of the question. Well, but Dr. Waterland's doctrine (as he af-

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fects to call it, though he owns himself, in p. 3, that it "begun to be promoted in the fourth century, and "has been propagated ever since) is a gross, [a] irreli- "gious, antichristian error, is tritheism and heresy." These are very hard words, and contain a very high charge; and will therefore reflect not a little disgrace upon this writer, if he should fail in making it good. And if he thought himself able to do so, and was disposed to enter again into the question concerning the truth of the received doctrine of the Trinity, why did he not write a full and just answer to the doctor's former learned and valuable labours; particularly his Second Defence, Sermons, and Farther Defence: whereas he has only revived the old exploded objections, concealing all along from his readers the repeated answers made by the doctor, and others, to them.

Dr. Waterland's book therefore, of the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, has gained its end: the episcopians, or indifferent, are equally condemned on both sides, and the doctrine on all hands allowed to be important. Indeed, on any other supposition, how can our author justify the conduct of his party, who have pestered the world with a long debate concerning a point, which, after all, is of very little or no importance? The importance therefore of the doctrine must be admitted: and now we are to return to the question concerning its truth, where the adversaries had been abundantly baffled before, and made to retreat to the question about importance. So are they driven backwards and forwards, *reel and stagger, and are at their wit's end* here, just as they are between worship and no worship

[a] P. 1, 2.

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of Christ and the Holy Spirit. How our author has managed the argument concerning the truth of the doctrine, (though foreign to his purpose,) will, I trust, appear in the course of these observations.

His three or four first pages are written in such a spirit, that were I really of his opinion, I should not be able to defend or approve his manner of supporting it. He complains of the doctor's as an "[b] extra-"vagant ill-natured book, void of all moderation, de-"cency, and even modesty." But the reader will compare and judge for himself; and he will see that this was only a pretence to excuse or palliate his own abusive way of writing. It seems to be the fate of Arianism, that it cannot be supported by fair and reputable methods. Our author might have spared the reflection, that the received doctrine of the Trinity "[c] has been propagated by popish vio-"lence and persecution;" because the same bad practices were used to propagate a doctrine directly contrary to it, (with which this writer is well acquainted,) before popery was in being[d]. And if one may judge from the temper of some men's writings, the pen would not be the only weapon they would draw against their adversaries, if the law allowed them to make use of others. Dr. Waterland then perhaps might resemble Athanasius in more respects than one, and not only write, but suffer for the orthodox cause.—But let us quit this subject for one more entertaining: for though this writer's spirit and temper be unchristian enough to make a good man sorry for him, yet his arguments, I am per-

[b] P. 2. [c] P. 3.

[d] See Cave's Life of Athanasius, or Trapp's Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 192. or Berriman's Historical Account, &c. Serm. IV.

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suaded, will have a quite contrary effect, and go near to make him smile.

He would have us believe, p. 4, that Dr. Waterland "does not at all understand what is a funda-"mental doctrine of religion." To make us amends, however, he undertakes to tell us. "In natural reli-"gion," says he, "there is no fundamental doctrine "or article, but which is clearly evident and de-"monstrable by reason:—therefore, in natural re-"ligion there is but one fundamental article." But why so, sir? Is there but one article in natural religion which is clearly evident and demonstrable by reason? Yes, says he, "the belief of the existence of "God," (which is one article,) "and his providential "government of the world," (which is another,) "and worshipping him under the expectation of a "judgment to come," (which is a third,) "is the "sum and substance of natural religion." And therefore in natural religion there is but one fundamental article. Q. E. D.

With regard to revealed religion he is a little more liberal, and, p. 4, allows two fundamental articles, "thus declared," says he, "by our Saviour "himself; *This is life eternal, that they may know "thee* (the Father) *the only true God, and Jesus "Christ whom thou hast sent.* John xvii. 3." But need we then believe nothing else, and are no articles but these two necessary? Yes, says our author, in these all others are included. "In the mis-"sion of Christ, and his being Mediator, is con-"tained and included, not only the belief of his "death, resurrection, and ascension,—but also—the "mission of the Holy Ghost, and belief in him[e]."

[e] P. 5.

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I am afraid then he must enlarge his catalogue of fundamentals; or else allow some articles to be necessary which are in no sense fundamental. And indeed this seems to be his sentiment: that no article, however necessary, however important, can be a fundamental, unless it be, as I may say, a prime verity, a first principle. No article that is a deduction from, nothing that is contained and included in another, can be fundamental. So that this wise builder, as far as I can see, allows nothing to be fundamental, nothing to belong to the foundation, but the very *corner-stone*. I ask his pardon if I mistake his sentiment, and my reader's if I leave it to confute itself[f]. However, we will grant him that every fundamental doctrine must be "clearly ex- "pressed" in scripture: and what then? why, not to insist upon our Saviour's commission to his disciples *to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, (Matt. xxviii. 19.) quoted by our author himself; "St. "Paul," says he, "(Ephes. iv. 4, 5, 6.) fully ex- "presseth the Christian doctrine of the Trinity "in these words; viz. *one Spirit, one Lord, one "God and Father* of all, *who is* above *all*[g]." So that here again, "in consequence and consistency "with himself," he must acknowledge the Christian doctrine of the Trinity (whatever that is) to be a necessary, an important, a fundamental doctrine.

[f] "I suppose it a much clearer notion of fundamentals, to un- "derstand them, not as principles, from whence deductions may "be drawn of theological truths; but in regard of that immediate "respect which they have to men's salvation." *Bishop Stilling- fleet's Grounds of Protestant Religion*, p. 50.

[g] P. 5.

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What his doctrine of the Trinity is, and what he would insinuate by writing the words *above all* in different characters, this is not the place to examine.

There is nothing but embarrassment and confusion in this writer's account of fundamentals: let us look for a better elsewhere.—" [h] There is no giving an " exact catalogue of important, or fundamental doc- " trines," though it is certain, " that some are of " greater importance than others." And this importance may be estimated, either by the " con- " nexion which any doctrine" has " with Christian " practice or worship, or with the whole economy of " man's salvation by Christ; or by its being plainly, " frequently, or strongly inculcated in holy scrip- " ture." Now Dr. Waterland has proved, in three distinct chapters, that the received doctrine of the Trinity is sufficiently clear, and also practical, and " sufficiently insisted upon likewise in scripture, to " be deemed an article of prime importance." All which our author had the prudence to leave just as he found them.

In pages 5, 6. our author seems to think that Dr. Waterland cannot reconcile the passages of scripture [viz. John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Ephes. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5.] here quoted by him with his principles. Yes, he can; and, upon the authority of the fathers, can even prove his doctrine of the Trinity from those very places. The reader will satisfy himself of this, by consulting, amongst others, the books referred to in the margin [i]. Whether he has " mis-

[h] Importance, p. 8, 9.

[i] First Defence, p. 8, 9, 10, &c. Second Defence, p. 50, &c. Sermons, p. 48, 53, &c. Farther Defence, p. 14, 15, 16, &c. The

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represented" Dr. Waterland's "notion" or no, in e sixth page, I am sure he has very grievously the next; where he pretends the doctor makes ıe originateness of the Son, and unoriginateness of ıe Father, to be so precarious and mutable and rtuitous, "that the Son might have been self-originated and the Father; and the Father might have been begotten and the Son, had it been so agreed between them; and that also, by the same agreement, the Holy Ghost might have been either the Father or the Son, or both by turns, as now he is neither; and so," continues he, "the whole economy and order of the Christian religion might have been inverted." He is at the same work gain, pages 36, 38, 39, &c. and has added a long ıote at the end of his book, to the same purpose; where he quotes (very much, one would think, to his own confusion) the doctor's words, viz. "[k] That "the priority of order (that is, the originateness of "the one, and unoriginateness of the other) is" (what? fortuitous, precarious, mutable? no, but) "natural, that is, necessary or unalterable, and eter-"nally so." What then can be the reason of all this clamour and complaint? why truly, because the doctor will not give a reason, *a priori*, why it could not have been otherwise. And will any man of a sound mind, or common modesty, attempt it? is it not evidently wading out of our depth, and going much further than our ideas can attend us? The fact we know, it is revealed; "so it is written, and

reader may also see Dr. Trapp's Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 110, &c. Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity Vindicated, p. 9, 14, 28, 37.

[k] Farther Defence, p. 38.

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" so we believe. The Father is Father, and the Son " is Son [l]." But if any man ask why it is so, he deserves only to be reminded, that some persons may ask more questions than wiser men can answer.

The author, all along, seems to be artfully blending the natural priority of order and economical together; though the doctor had before desired, that they might be kept distinct [m]. The former is necessary and unalterable; the Father never could have been the Son, nor the Son the Father. But " as to " the Son's acting a ministerial part, that indeed is " purely economical; and there was no impossibility " in the nature of the thing, but the Father himself " might have done the same: but it was more con- " gruous, that he, who is first in order, should be " first in office too [n]: and had it been otherwise, it " would have been inverting the order of the per- " sons; which, I think, is reason sufficient against " it [o]." And will our author say, it is not? Those men who contend so much, that the reasons and fitnesses of things are a law to the Supreme Being him-

[l] Second Defence, p. 177. [m] Ibid.

[n] Agreeable to these are the words of bishop Pearson: " Upon " this preeminence, (of the Father,) as I conceive, may safely be " grounded the congruity of the divine mission. We often read " that Christ was sent; from whence he bears the name of an " Apostle himself, as well as those whom he therefore named so; " because as the *Father sent him, so sent he them*: the Holy Ghost " is also said to be sent, sometimes by the Father, sometimes by " the Son: but we never read that the Father was sent at all, " there being an authority in that name, which seems inconsistent " with this mission." *On the Creed*, p. 36. Thus do the bishop and Dr. Waterland entirely agree; following herein both fathers and schoolmen.

[o] Ibid. and p. 134, 135.

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self, will they say that suitableness, fitness, congruity, is not a sufficient reason in this case? will nothing content them but a physical impossibility? which when we speak of, with regard to God, who will presume to say what he can, or what he cannot do? What can limit his power, (I speak of physical power,) but absolute contradiction? And for my part, I am able to see no contradiction in supposing that the Father might (as to any impossibility in the nature of the thing) have acted a different part in the mysterious work of man's redemption. However, though the Father might have done so if he had pleased, yet he did not think it so suitable, so fit, so proper, so congruous; and therefore, in this view, there was what we may call a *moral* impossibility. For, as Mr. Norris well speaks, "need any "thing be more impossible, than what an infinitely "wise Being does not think fit to do? and may "not such a perfect Agent be very well said, not to "be able to do whatever he cannot do in wisdom [p]?" The Father, as such, has something of preeminence and authority, (not dominion and power, in the Arian sense,) so that it would seem absurd for him to be said to be *sent*, &c. either of the *Son* whom he *begot*, or the *Holy Spirit*, who *proceedeth* from him [q].

I don't design to pursue this writer page by page; I have more regard to my own time, and the reader's patience. But the next, page 8, is so very wonderful and extraordinary, (I shall give it no worse words,) that it must not pass without animadversion. Here's

[p] Sermon on Christ's Satisfaction, vol. iv. p. 79.

[q] See Pearson quoted in the Second Defence, p. 188. or St. Augustin apud Bull. Defen. F. N. p. 277, 288.

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an English convocation Arianized at once: the whole synod, "the most eminent and learned body of the "clergy," determine "in favour" of a doctrine directly contradictory to their own solemn and repeated subscriptions! but methinks this affair might have been dropped for Dr. Clarke's sake: and if our author forces us to revive the memory of some things that will not redound to his honour, he alone is to answer for it. In the year 1714, the lower house of convocation presented to the bishops a complaint of Dr. Clarke's book. The bishops, in their answer, "highly approve the zeal of the lower house,—de- "clare their concern for the great scandal given to "pious and sober-minded Christians by some books "lately published by Dr. Clarke, and their appre- "hension of the mischiefs and dangerous conse- "quences that may ensue thereupon." They "think "the lower house had just reason for such their "complaint."—And they promise to "take into "their consideration what is proper to do on this "occasion." So far, one would think, is no "de- "termination" (either "tacit" or express) "in favour "of the scripture doctrine of the Trinity, asserted "by Dr. Clarke." But what followed? While this was in agitation, the doctor was prevailed upon (Mr. Whiston says the prevailing argument was, *Save thyself and us*[r]) to draw up and deliver to the bishops (what the gentleman just mentioned will bear me out in calling) a prevaricating paper[s], "con- "cerning the eternity of the Son and Holy Spirit." Upon this the bishops, not willing, perhaps, to come to extremities, thought fit to proceed no further. At

[r] Whiston's Memoirs of Dr. Clarke, p. 73. [s] Ibid. p. 85.

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the same time the lower house declared themselves not satisfied with Dr. Clarke's paper, as it did "not "contain in it any recantation of the heretical as- "sertions, and other offensive passages," which they had complained of in their representation. "Thus "ended," says Mr. Whiston, "this unhappy affair: "unhappy to Dr. Clarke's own conscience, &c.[t]"— And can any mortal now conclude with our author, that this was a "tacit determination in favour of "the scripture doctrine of the Trinity, asserted by "Dr. Clarke?" But "they did not gainsay any part "of his propositions;" they did not "allege, either "that he had misunderstood or misinterpreted any "one of above a thousand texts of scripture, on "which his propositions were founded; or that any "one of them was not rightly deduced from the "scriptures, which he brought to support them." They did not, indeed, if this author pleases, enter any further into particulars, than was necessary to support the several articles contained in their complaint. They observed, "that the offence, given by "the books complained of," arose "not only from "particular parts and passages, but from the gene- "ral drift and design of the whole;" which tended to nothing less, in their opinion, "than to substitute "the author's private conceits, and arbitrary inter- "pretations of scripture, in the room of those ca- "tholic doctrines which the church professes and "maintains, as warranted both by scripture and an- "tiquity[u]."

[t] Whiston's Memoirs, p. 85.

[u] See the extract of particulars laid before the bishops by the lower house, in a pamphlet, entitled, A full Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation relating to Dr. Clarke's Writings about the Trinity, printed in the year 1714.

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If there was a "tacit determination in favour" of any thing, it was not Dr. Clarke's doctrine, but his person. They call his interpretations of scripture *arbitrary*, his passages *offensive*, his assertions *heretical*. And he, that would infer from hence that they tacitly determined in favour of his scripture doctrine, must do it by such laws of inference, as no logic will countenance, or common sense endure.

In the mean time, the clergy may perhaps learn from hence how to shew favours and indulgence for the future, when they see what use is made of them, and what conclusions are drawn from them. There seem to be some small hopes alive in the nation, that the convocation may sometime be allowed to sit and act again. If they should, it becomes not me to suggest any thing to my superiors: but they may perhaps think it becomes their character, and is incumbent upon them to consider, that whatever lenity may be extended to the doubts or mistakes of candid and modest inquirers, yet abandoned and flagrant heresy, when it grows boisterous, and bold, and insolent, and outrageous, is not to be connived at. They may perhaps think that the doctrine of the church, which they have all most solemnly subscribed, should not be publicly affronted, and branded with the infamous and odious names of *tritheism* and *Sabellianism*[x]; that no man should be suffered with impunity to call it a "gross, "irreligious, antichristian error;" "a fictitious doc- "trine," "a heathen system, an unreasonable, im- "pious, antichristian hypothesis;" "an atheistical "and diabolical doctrine," and "a monstrous system "of the worst heresies mixed and confounded to-

[x] P. 2, 35, 57, 58, 71.

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" gether, destructive of all science and religion, and " necessarily ending in atheism[y]." They may perhaps think it an aggravation of the writer's guilt, that he himself has subscribed, and continues to enjoy the benefit of that subscription, to the doctrine of that church, which he thus reproaches: and that it is a further aggravation still, that, not content with this, he is for turning the censures of the church upon its own orthodox members, and, in effect, for unchurching the church itself[z]. " There is " in this (I cannot but think) something so pre- " sumptuous, and infamously assuming in a man, " who is in his circumstances, and who is so de- " servedly, above all others, liable to every censure " that is due to the teachers of false doctrine, the " deluders of Christians, and the promoters of con- " tention, strife, and division, as is unparalleled, and " even amazing[a]."

It is no wonder, that he who has made this attempt upon " the most eminent and learned body of " the clergy," should make the like upon an eminent prelate. This is a stale device with them; the reader may see more of it in the Memoirs of Dr. Clarke's Life. Every man that they think will be an honour to their cause, they are resolved, *per fas et nefas*, to press him into it. This artifice was handsomely exposed, some years ago, in the Free Thinker, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis[b]. It was his design too, *totum orbem civitate donare*, to make all the world free of his party; though one might see, by the very air of his performance, as well as

[y] P. 1, 39, 62, 130, 132, 133. [z] P. 22, 25, 62. [a] P. 62.
[b] Remarks, part ii. p. 51.

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of our Country Clergyman's, that they were conscious all the world was against them.

Seni nostro fidei nihil habeo.

Dr. Waterland had argued in his Importance, &c. that they who believe Christ to be God, and honour him as such, ought not to communicate, and that guilt is contracted by communicating with those who, by what they call *inferior worship*, do manifestly dishonour and degrade him [c]. What now does our author reply to this? does he deny that Christians ought to renounce communion with such men as dishonour and degrade their God and Saviour? that he dares not. But he would persuade us that he and his party, good men! are guilty of no such practice. "How do they dishonour Christ," says he, "who honour him with every high title ascribed to "him in scripture [d]?" Now here I would beg leave to ask this gentleman, in the first place, how they can be said to honour Christ "with every high title [e] "ascribed to him in scripture," whose practice notoriously it is, to take from him every high title which they possibly can, by any methods of forced and unnatural construction, however "ascribed to him in "scripture," and appropriate it to the person of the Father? For example, the high title of *over all, God blessed*, Rom. ix. 5: and that of *true God*, 1 John v. 20: and that of *Almighty*, Rev. i. 8. (not to mention several more,) they do endeavour, by false and perverse criticism, to take away from God the Son, and to appropriate to God the Father: even the bare title of God they cannot allow the

[c] Importance, &c. p. 38, 42. [d] P. 9.

[e] The high titles ascribed to Christ in scripture may be seen in Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 197—233.

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Son, without much qualifying and restriction. They "refuse him not the title of God, though, to be sure, "not in Dr. Waterland's sense, of his being the one "God of Christians[f]," &c. that is, his being one God with the Father.

Secondly, Suppose they did (as they evidently do not) give him "every high title ascribed to him "in scripture," yet they might not be worthy to be communicated with, notwithstanding that: for what are scripture titles and scripture terms without scripture ideas? And if, at the same time that they give our Saviour any "high title ascribed to him in "scripture," they are sure to explain away its high (and indeed almost any intelligible) meaning, they are as much heretics, and as much to be refused communion, as in the former case. That this is their constant way, I appeal to any man conversant in their writings.

Thirdly, How do they honour Christ, who make him a creature? Our author is mighty angry at this charge[g]; but, like men in passion, he only hurts himself, and proves the very charge he rails at. He is not "one of those creatures which God made by "him[h]." No, sir; nobody ever accused you of making a creature of him in that sense. "Are there "then other creatures besides those which were "made *by the Word*[i]?" Upon your principles we must give a new division of being, somewhat different from the common one. Whatever is, is either God or the creatures: creatures are either such as were immediately made by God himself, or mediately, by the instrumentality of other creatures. Of

[f] P. 9. [g] P. 76. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid.

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the former sort we know but of one, viz. that Being called the *Son* of God; who was his inferior agent or instrument in making all other creatures, the Holy Spirit not excepted [i]. But if we make the Son a creature, "how contradictory is it to charge" us "at the same time with making him another God?" It is contradiction enough, that's true; but look you to that. Contradiction as it is, you hold it; and therefore the inconsistency lies not in your adversary's charge, but in your own doctrine, which is actually that of a creature-god. In short, our author makes a creature of the Son with a witness; for it is his avowed principle, that he is mutable and passible in his highest capacity. He was once a God, in some low sense or other, and then he ceased to be so for a time, and then became God again in a higher sense than before. P. 73, 74. And in pages 63, 64, &c. he contends all along, that the Λόγος or *Word* is passible. If so, one may the less wonder at Dr. Clarke's reply to a question, asked him in a private disputation at his own house, viz. "Whether a "true God can be destroyed, or not?" To which he answered, "I know not [k]." Fine divinity this, to come from the mouths of Christian divines!

Quanto rectius hic——?

How much better instructed were the heathens! *Nos Deum, nisi sempiternum, intelligere qui possumus?* says a philosopher in Tully [l]. But our author's divine persons, like the divine persons in the

[i] Christian Liberty, &c. p. 129. Mr. Whiston, in lord Nottingham's Answer, p. 3. asserts the same.

[k] See a book entitled an Answer to Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Whiston, &c. p. 3.

[l] De Natura Deorum, lib. i.

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poetical theology, are obnoxious to pain and sufferings, to bleed, and even to die! I ask pardon for a comparison which will probably shock every pious reader; but I do it to shame such men as this Country Clergyman, if they have any sense of shame left. To return; they evidently make the Son a creature. This Dr. Waterland has proved by nine several arguments, in his Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription [m]; which remain unanswered. Whatever high (that is, mere empty, nominal) titles therefore they ascribe to Christ, they certainly "dishonour and degrade him." And consequently the argument stands against them in full force, that they "who believe Christ to be God, and honour him as "such," ought to have no communion with them. "There is no patching up any lasting or rational "agreement of that kind, while the parties cannot "unite so much as in the object of divine worship [n]."

But we have not yet done with our author upon this article. Let it be, that they "honour Christ "with every high title ascribed to him in scripture;" yet with what sort of worship do they honour him? with proper, direct, divine worship? No; this writer himself contends, [p. 125.] that the Father "only ought to be invocated and worshipped "in the highest, strict, and proper sense of prayer "and worship;" as for the Son, he must be worshipped only with subordinate, inferior, or mediatorial worship; and the Holy Ghost is never to be "invocated in prayer at all." The point of media-

[m] Supplement, &c. p. 20.

[n] Importance, &c. p. 38. See also Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 20, &c.

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torial worship has been amply discussed in Dr. Waterland's Second Defence [o]. It is there evinced, that the ancient sense of a Mediator is, that he is *God-man*; conformably to which, mediatorial worship would coincide with divine. "It would be "worshipping Christ, because with the human na- "ture he is possessed also of the divine, and is "therefore strictly and properly adorable as well as "the Father." But our author seems to mean nothing like this. He only talks of praying to the Father by the mediation of Christ, in his name, and through him to God the Father, "to whom he him- "self also prays [p]." So that, as far as I can make any distinct sense of him, we are only to pray to Christ to pray for us; or to pray to the Father to hear us for his sake. But now "they who believe "Christ to be God, and who honour him as such," must also believe that this is dishonouring and degrading him by inferior worship: and therefore the argument here again concludes, that they ought not to communicate with such as are guilty of this practice.

Once more, and to have done with the author upon this head; as Dr. Waterland has proved that we cannot communicate with Arians, so the Country Clergyman has proved (if he has proved any thing) that they ought not to communicate with us. How can they communicate with so antichristian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical a party? but that they should subscribe also such diabolical principles,

[o] Second Defence, p. 371, &c. See also First Defence, qu. 18. and preface to the Sermons, p. 44—50. and Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, p. 6—22.

[p] P. 9, 10.

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is monstrous beyond expression! Dr. Waterland observes, that though "both parties were to join in "the same solemn acts of outward worship," yet as the catholic side cannot but "conceive, that those "religious acts are on the other side defiled by an "irreligious meaning," "they cannot, in conscience, "consent to such known defilements of their solemn "service[q]." So again, turn the matter the other way; if they were honest and conscientious men, they would never offer to join in outward worship, by the help of such evasive and irreligious meaning, as would equally bear them out in joining in any other outward worship, even popish or pagan. Papists argue thus for joining in their worship, though men do not inwardly approve it. "The ar- "ticle of adoration ought not to be an obstacle to "it; since true adoration is an inward act, depend- "ant on you: and without the intention of your "mind, and the motion of your heart, for all your "kneeling down, you adore nothing[r]." But arguments of this sort prove nothing, because they prove too much; they will serve the Mahometan or the heathen, as well as the Arian or papist: and by the same arts men may join in high mass as well as our Liturgy, and subscribe to the doctrine of transubstantiation, as well as the article of the Trinity[s]. "So, turn we this matter which way we will, the "point of worship must be a parting point betwixt" us, "while" we "retain" our "opposite sentiments,

[q] Dr. Waterland's Importance, &c. p. 39, 40.

[r] Mr. St. Evremont's Letter to Mons. Justel. Works, vol. ii. p. 276.

[s] Bishop Stillingfleet's Sufferings of Christ, part ii. p. 163.

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"with regard to the strict and proper divinity of "Christ[t]."

That which follows next for several pages, I scarce can tell what to make of. Dr. W. disclaims both papal infallibility and rigid mathematical certainty in matters of faith; and yet this writer goes on charging him with both. This is gross misrepresentation; but indeed so is his whole pamphlet, and it would be endless to mention all the particular instances of this kind. Our author serves any cause, and assumes any character, just as it serves his turn; papist now, and now sceptic. He talks [p. 11, &c.] as if there was no medium between infallibility and universal doubt and uncertainty; much after the same rate that the papists do. "There is no reasonable "medium," says a great man of that communion, "betwixt deism and the catholic religion[u]."—"We "must either submit to this church, or reject the "Bible as a fiction." There is no being certain of the truth of the Christian religion, or any of its particular doctrines, without an infallible guide and living interpreter; "no fixed principles to be found, "that can stop men in that torrent of uncertainties, "which hurries them along." Thus do both parties concur to depress and cry down moral evidence and moral certainty, the ground of protestant religion and protestant faith: with a view, on one side, to bring us back to the bosom of the catholic church: on the other, to deprive our own of all just authority and power, and reduce it to a mere Babel of anarchy and confusion. There is not an argument urged here

[t] Importance, &c. p. 40.

[u] Life of Mons. de Fenelon, p. 194—197.

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by our author, but what will do as well in the mouth of the wildest sectary. Every enthusiast may come with the Bible in his hands, and claim a right, "independent of all ecclesiastical power," of teaching men out of it what he "sincerely believes to be the "doctrine and truth of God's revealed will." Another has the same plea; another, and another; and so on *in infinitum*. What, then, has the church no protection, no defence against this lewd legion? and must they be suffered to swarm and multiply without remedy and without end? What says our author? he intimates something, [p. 23.] that let a man teach what he will, "as his sense of religion or "scripture," his hearers, if they judge it erroneous, have liberty to reject it, "and so it can do them "no harm." In which argument there might perhaps be some sense, if his hearers were all capable judges. But how easy a thing is it for men of subtilty and science, to impose on the illiterate and the simple? Well, but then they are misled; they think it truth, though indeed it is error; and therefore again "it can do them no real harm at all:" God requiring us not to be infallible, but only sincere. This just proves what I said, that the plea will serve every cause; and is therefore in reality of service to none. As to sincerity, if they really have, as well as boast of it, it will be so much better for them at last. We determine nothing concerning their future and final state; but confine the question to the external peace and communion of the church. And here we say, that men have not an uncontrolable liberty, "by the overt acts of preaching, writ-"ing, and teaching," to maintain and propagate whatever they will, however sincerely they may be-

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lieve it to be the doctrine of God's revealed will. Such a liberty as this, in defiance of all kind of censure, would be destructive of the very being of the church, as a society. He brings a comparison, p. 24. that makes against him. "It is exactly the same in "civil matters. If I have a right to judge for my- "self," &c.—"I have a right to speak and write," &c. Use it, sir, if you please; and write as big a book as this, to prove that king George is not true king, any more than Jesus Christ is true God. You will find, I believe, (and it is fit you should,) that civil liberty has its bounds; and why then, by your own way of reasoning, should religious be unlimited?

As to civil penalties and civil discouragements, which he mentions p. 24, 25. Dr. Waterland has said nothing about them. He has not condemned civil or political toleration, even of Arianism, though our laws do not tolerate it. The doctor only pleads against ecclesiastical toleration, or admitting to communion, and to the right hand of fellowship; and might be defended herein (if he wanted such defence) even by the chief Socinians themselves. Even these particular friends of toleration and moderation carry their rigours as far as the doctor does, even against Socinians: for they renounce communion with as many as refuse to worship Christ, and declare them no Christians. This Dr. Waterland has observed, out of the Racovian Catechism, in his Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 22.

This author talks [x] as if Dr. Waterland claimed a right not to convince, but to punish those who oppose his doctrine. Dr. Waterland has done more

[x] P. 22.

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ıan any other man in England to convince this au-
ıor himself: it is all in vain; he not only resists the
ruth, but treats the doctor as his enemy for telling
im it. But what then, will he say, If I am sincere,
ıough in error, shall I be punished? It seems to
e this fear of punishment, as he calls it, that is of
ıore weight with our author than any other con-
ideration. Thus he talks, p. 1, 2. of being "pu-
nished as the law shall think fit," "and ruined."
To which it is sufficient to answer, that Dr. Water-
and concerns himself with no law but the gospel-
aw, and what that directs in the affair, considered
ıs a case of conscience. Surely upon the foot of pri-
vate judgment, men may choose whom to receive as
brethren in Christ, according to the rules laid down
in scripture. This does not always amount to judi-
cial censure: for inferiors may claim it as their right,
as it is also their duty, to reject the communion of
heretics, of what station or eminence soever. Nor
need the heretics so rejected be ruined; we know
of instances to the contrary. However, everlasting
ruin is the dreadful consequence of corrupting or
subverting the faith, or of partaking in their sins by
receiving them. Must conscience give way to inter-
est? Suppose the establishment were on the Arian
side, and there were but a single man left, and he a
layman, to stand up for Christ; he ought to do it;
and to renounce communion with the rest, though
sure to punish none but himself by doing it. No-
thing therefore can be more absurd, than for this
author to make such an outcry about punishment.
Merely renouncing communion with others is not
properly punishment at all. Inconveniences may ac-
cidentally arise to the persons so rejected; but be

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these as they may, the church is certainly the worst constituted society upon earth, if it may not provide for its own safety, for fear the most grievous offenders against it should suffer some inconveniences. It is a jest in him to talk of being "bound in "duty to the church" to teach and instruct men contrary to its own doctrines[y]. Do men ever enjoy the benefits and privileges of a society, only in order to transgress, and to teach others to transgress its rules? If men think the doctrines of any church to be such antichristian, diabolical doctrines as this writer calls the doctrines of ours, they ought not to pretend to be teachers in that church, or they ought to be rejected, if they do: and where's the injury done them? Do they lose any thing they were born to, any thing which they have any claim to, upon any other terms than those which they won't comply with? Let them take their fate with other common-mortals! and if this be but reasonable, it is no matter if men, concerned that it should not be esteemed so, call it popery or persecution. Reason and truth will finally prevail over invidious appellations.

This writer is wonderfully liberal of his compliments of this kind. Dr. Waterland had argued to this purpose, that protestant churches do not propose their doctrines to be received without examination; that they determine however beforehand, that men ought to find these doctrines true. The reason is, because they carry their evidence along with them; so that if men examine with care, and decide with impartiality, they cannot think otherwise. Now this pretence, that men ought upon examination to

[y] P. 21.

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find these doctrines true, is, as our author says, page 14, " the very pretence of the popish church." In direct contradiction to which he affirms, page 16, that the church of Rome " fairly and sincerely tells her " members, ' that they have no right to examine her " doctrines at all;' and therefore will not let them " read the scriptures," &c. But omitting this, his assertion is plainly false, and his sentiment absurd. The different grounds of popish and protestant faith may be seen in the Importance, &c. at one view, p. 181. And as to requiring men to find that true which is true, what is it more than requiring the right conduct of their understandings, and regulation of their wills? But our author all along seems to think, that if men be not infallible, they can never be certain of the right and reason of the cause. Is he infallible himself? he will not pretend to it. Is he morally certain of any thing? if he be, others may; the governors of the church, for instance: and if he is not, he must be in just consequence a perfect sceptic. How then (as no man writes in a more confident and dogmatical manner than himself) will he justify his own conduct? He has pronounced very confidently and dogmatically against the doctrine of all the protestant churches, (nay of all the Christian world, in a manner, from the fourth century, at least, by his own confession,) that it is tritheism, or Sabellianism; that it is gross, irreligious, antichristian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical. And all this without being morally certain of the right and reason of the cause, and without being infallible. We know indeed that he has done it, not only without moral certainty, but against it. However, by his own account, and in consequence of his own argu-

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ment, he has done it without certain ground for so doing; and therefore is self-condemned, and guilty of a most flaming breach of Christian charity, candour, justice, and common honesty. Rash accusation, (and all is rash that has no certain ground to go upon,) and of such a kind, is desperate iniquity. Persuasion alone will not suffice: men ought to know what they say, and what they do. Papists are consistent in their censures, on the foot of their supposed infallibility; and protestants likewise, on the foot of moral certainty: but such sceptical Arians as admit no certainty ought to be exceeding modest in their censures, or rather to forbear censuring at all. But his Christian Liberty is marvellous.

But perhaps, after all, I was too hasty in inferring, that upon supposition he himself is morally certain of any thing, therefore the governors of the church may be so too; for he tells us, [p. 24.] that though "sincere men" (a character to be sure that he will lay claim to[z]) "are in no danger of erring in funda-"mental points," yet "churches are; have erred, "and do grossly err," &c. Now what paradox, what perverseness is this? If sincerity be a security against error, may not church-governors sometimes happen to be sincere? No, they have neither sin-

[z] We may, however, have leave to ask, whether others will allow his claim to be good? For if this maxim be certain, then as often as men err fundamentally, we may justly infer they are not sincere, in the full sense of the word. And therefore, as it is evident that this writer does err, grossly and fundamentally, he is certainly, by his own rule, not sincere; as we may infer likewise from his misreporting, misrepresenting, and romancing so often, and so maliciously. To do this when he knows better is very insincere and immoral; and even want of due care and caution is want of sincerity.

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cerity nor sense; as he decently insinuates, p. 4, it is through "want of thinking" or "want of honesty," through "bigotry" or "indifference in matters of re-"ligion," that Dr. Waterland's hypothesis, that is, the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, has not "long since "been universally exploded." If churchmen must bear such insult and persecution as this without redress, they are to be pitied; if not—but I forbear. That churches have erred, and do err, our own acknowledges in her nineteenth article; and yet, without the least inconsistency, claims, in her next, "au-"thority in matters of faith." Men (and churches are composed only of men) may easily err in what they define from their own fancies, but cannot err in what they prove from the "word of God." If the doctrine of the Trinity can be proved from this to be both true and important, a bare possibility of erring is no reason why they who oppose it should be received to communion. The apostles, this author intimates, p. 25, 26, infallibly knew that the heretics whom they "declared excommunicated from the "church of Christ,—were all such as denied or "acted contrary to the express doctrine of Christ, "in points of the greatest importance." Well, and if the church certainly, though not infallibly, knows this, may not she follow the apostles' example in rejecting such heretics? Yes, our author expressly allows this; and to what purpose then all this idle talk about want of infallibility?. "Let then," says he, p. 26, 27, "every church (though not infallible as the "apostles were) endeavour to follow their example, "in rejecting those only as heretics from her favour "or communion, who either by immorality of life "or by wicked error contradict the plain express

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" doctrine of the gospel." So far one would think we are tolerably agreed; but still he has his evasion at hand. He means by " the plain express doctrine " of the gospel" only the words and forms of scripture, p. 28. And if men do but retain these, whatever absurd or heretical meaning they affix to them, they must not truly be accounted or rejected as heretics. This silly pretence has been answered and exposed a thousand times [a]. May not men, by defining their terms, and establishing a previous hypothesis, convey any doctrine in any expressions? Is any thing easier than to affix a novel and heretical sense to old and orthodox terms? What a jest is it then to say, that they who oppose them must lay down their doctrine in the language which they have thus perverted; and use no propositions but what the adversary has already distorted to a pernicious sense? If " the fathers of the church, in the " first and purest ages of it," [p. 28.] confined their creeds to scripture bounds, or to scripture terms, it was, I suppose, because heretics had not yet made it necessary for them to enlarge them. The council of Nice itself at first thought of doing the same: " But " the malignity of Arianism was not to be so restrain-

[a] " But if these (viz. the sacred books) be received as the rule " of our faith, it is certain it is not the sound of the words is so, " but the sense of them." *Bishop Hare's Church-Authority Vindicated, in a Sermon preached at Putney, at a Visitation,* May 5, 1719. Which sermon if the reader consults, he will receive full satisfaction as to an assertion of our author's, p. 18. viz. " that no " authority of the church in matters of faith is ever mentioned in " scripture, nor are we ever commanded there to receive the doc- " trine of the church." See also Dr. Waterland's Farther Defence, p. 64, 65, &c. Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 25, 26, &c. Importance, &c. p. 86, &c.

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" ed. Its patrons could apply the phrase to overturn " the sense of scripture, and knew how to reconcile " the most approved expressions with the most exe- " crable blasphemies [b]." Hence arose the necessity of making use of " the philosophical term," " the un- " scriptural word" [p. 29, 30.] ὁμοούσιος, or *consubstantial.* But the doctrine and faith of the Nicene Fathers may be seen in the learned authors here referred to [c]; and therefore I shall only make a remark or two upon this writer's account, as I pass along.

He seems to lay great stress upon a notion of his, of the Son's being like the Father; " altogether like " unto the Father," p. 29; " the most perfect like- " ness of the Father," p. 31; " in all things like unto " the Father," p. 33: which bare " similitude," he says, p. 29, was all the council meant by the word *consubstantial;* though literally taken, he owns it means more. I would not argue against any decisions of the council; but as this notion of similitude, in our author's meaning of the word, is entirely his own, he will give me leave to try if I can make any sense of it. They who acknowledge three Persons in the divine nature may properly enough say, that one is the perfect image or likeness of the other. They have each of them the same essence,

[b] Dr. Berriman's Historical Account, &c. p. 174. As to the article of Creeds, and the necessity of enlarging them, see the Historical Account, p. 27. et passim. Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 324, &c. Critical History of the Athanasian Creed, p. 285, &c. second edit. Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 33, 34. Importance, &c. p. 210, &c.

[c] Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 10, &c. Dr. Berriman's Historical Account, Serm. IV. Dr. Waterland's First Defence, p. 461, &c.

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the same substance, the same infinite perfections. The Son, in an ineffable manner, is begotten of the Father, and with his nature derives from him all the powers and perfections of the Godhead. Well therefore may he be said, in this sound sense, to be "the most perfect likeness of the Father;" or, in St. Paul's words, *the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person*[d]. But as nothing can support this sense of likeness, but a sameness of nature, it is not, to be sure, what this author contends for. There is then another sense of the word *likeness*, according to which every good man may be said to be like God. Every virtuous and holy soul is a partaker of the divine nature[e], that is, of a like temper and resembling disposition. There is nothing in this peculiar to Jesus Christ, and therefore the similitude between Father and Son, which the author means, must be something more than this moral likeness will amount to. But what can that be? Suppose the Son a being separate from, and inferior to the Father, the only true and supreme God, as this writer all along supposes, and say what likeness other than moral can be conceived betwixt them? The heathen poet could say of their supreme god, *Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum*[f], Nothing can be like or second to an omnipotent God. If Christ be not strictly and properly omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and infinite in all perfections, it is inconceivable nonsense to talk of his being *like* ("*altogether like*, like in *all*

[d] Heb. i. 3. [e] 2 Pet. i. 4.

[f] Horat. Carm. 1. 12. Dr. Bentley's Sermons, p. 237. Remarks, &c. by Phil. Lipsiensis, part i. p. 53. Dr. Waterland's First Defence, p. 223, 224.

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"*things*") to a Being that is. There is no such thing as being *half* almighty, *half* omniscient, &c. or *half* or *almost* infinite in perfection. Either therefore allow that the Son has all these perfections in common with, though derived from the Father, and so consequently one God with him; or talk no more of his being *like him in all things*, where the very nature of the things themselves excludes all likeness. For, abstracting from the two other Persons in the Godhead, *to whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him*[s]?

Again; he says, p. 29, that "the council ex- "plained what is meant by the word *consubstan- "tial*, viz. that the Son was not consubstantial by "division of the Father's substance," &c. And again, p. 33, "the council took care to disclaim the literal "metaphysical sense of the word, which implied a "division of the substance of God." Now it is, I think, universally agreed, and he himself allows it, p. 36, that the council defined that the Son was of, or from, the substance of the Father. Put then these two things together, that the Son was of, or from, the substance which cannot be divided, and all division of which the council took care to disclaim, and what can be the consequence, but that the Son had the whole divine substance communicated to him, and so, according to the decree of this council, is one God with the Father? It is in vain therefore for this writer to pretend that the Nicene council favoured his doctrine; and he has just the same right to it, that he has to the English convocation in 1714. I omit his unfair management and

[s] Isaiah xl. 18.

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studied confusion upon this argument; as if the word *consubstantial* must either be understood in his sense of "bare similitude," or else in a tritheistic or Sabellian sense. There is a middle sense, which is neither tritheism nor Sabellianism; and yet means more than a "bare similitude," viz. an equality of nature. Ὁμοούσιος does not express the whole sense of the Nicene Fathers, though they could not express it so well without it. And therefore, that it might not be interpreted of a specific consubstantiality, they added the qualifying clauses, as it were, of—"God of God, Light of Light, begotten," &c. and "of the substance of the Father:" which they declared over and over again, to be "without any di-"vision." So they secured the equality of nature, and the unity of the Godhead too. But of this see Dr. Waterland's First Defence, p. 461, &c. Bull, D.F.N. sect. ii. c. 1. Second Defence, p. 12. After all then, this is an old Arian [h] artifice, revived by our author. But catholics never talk so crudely, as of dividing a substance (which they expressly teach cannot be divided) into two persons, or that the Son is a part of the substance of the Father; but that the whole divine nature which is originally in the Father, and of none, is derivatively in the Son, of, or from the Father. We pretend not to have either words or

[h] "Causabatur impia illa et inquieta hominum factio [viz. Arii "sectatores] τὸ ὁμοούσιον nunc Sabellianismo patrocinari; nunc, "contraria plane ratione, partitionem divinæ essentiæ statuere; "nunc denique substantiam aliquam inducere (proh nugæ!) et "Patre et Filio priorem, cujus deinde Pater et Filius ex æquo "participes fierent." *Bull, Def. F. Nic.* p. 25. What the Nicene Fathers meant by that term, the bishop shews in the next [26.] page.

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ideas adequate to this great subject; but let not those however reject it upon this account, who have nothing to offer in its place, but what is evidently absurd and contradictious[i]. The author would have us believe, [p. 29.] that Athanasius[k], and the council of Antioch, under Jovian, understood the Nicene Fathers to mean by the term *consubstantial*, "that "there was no similitude betwixt the Son and those "creatures which were made by him; but that he "was altogether like unto the Father only who be-"gat him." And can this be of any service to his cause? nay, does it not overthrow it? "There is "no similitude betwixt him and the creatures." Very right, there can be none, but a moral likeness before-mentioned. "But he is begotten of or from "the substance of the Father, and as to his sub-"stance, like unto the Father," says the council under Jovian. Then he must have the divine substance, which is and can be but one; or else he cannot be said to be like the Father, *κατ' οὐσίαν*, as to his substance. But suppose this council of Antioch

[i] How full of contradiction the Arian scheme is, may be seen, in one view, at the end of Mr. Welchman's Examination of Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine, p. 30.

[k] He has curtailed Athanasius's words, and thereby falsified his meaning. Athanasius never owned what this writer aims at: his declared sentiment (p. 756.) is, that *ὁμοιότης* alone does not express the consubstantiality, as understood in the Nicene Creed, but that *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας* must be added to it, to make out the full sense. *Καὶ αὐτοαληθὴς ὁμοιότης ἦν τοῦ γεννήσαντος, οὐχ ὡς ἑτερουσὴς, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν, χωριζόμενός ἐστι τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς ἀδιαίρετος ὑπάρχει, ὃς ἐστι τὸ ἀπαύγασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς.* De Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. p. 759. edit. Bened.

His citing a small part of this period, without referring to page or edition, raised a suspicion of some unfair dealing, and now it is brought to light.

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under Jovian meant it in this author's low sense of likeness, yet may not a [l] Semiarian synod misrepresent the sense of an orthodox council, to make it seem more favourable to their own sentiments? Well, but whatever becomes of the meaning, our author has still more to offer in disparagement of the term *consubstantial.* It was rejected before the council of Nice by the council of Antioch, and after it by a council of the eastern and western church held at Ariminum and Seleucia. Yes, the Antiochian Fathers rejected the term, because Paul of Samosata, whose heresy they were assembled to condemn, explained it in a wicked and absurd sense [m]. At the same time they held the same doctrine with the Nicene Fathers [n]. In the other councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, (one for the western, and the other for the eastern church,) the incomparably greater number of bishops were catholic, but were imposed on, by fair words and specious pretences, to drop the term, thinking the faith might be secure without it. They soon found their own mistake, and the fraud of the adversary; they asked pardon of their brethren for the one, they loudly complained of the other; "they went about every where protesting by the body of Christ, and all that is sacred in "the church, that they suspected no evil in their "creed; they thought the sense had agreed with "the words, and that men had not meant one thing

[l] Bull. Def. F. Nic. sect. ii. p. 28. Cave's Historia Literaria, vol. i. p. 155. Berriman's Historical Account, p. 241.

[m] Berriman's Historical Account, p. 147, &c. Waterland's First Defence, p. 465.

[n] Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 144. and First Defence, p. 465.

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.n their hearts, and uttered another with their lips[o]," &c. But though this affair has been set in a just light a hundred times over, and this very author exposed for mentioning it[p]; still he goes on to quote it in defence of a cause, upon which it can reflect nothing but disgrace and infamy.

The concessions of such known friends to the catholic faith, as Alexander of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Hilary of Poictiers, cannot surely hurt it. The Fathers perhaps might not always express themselves with perfect accuracy or sufficient caution:—or it is an easy thing to quote detached and unconnected sentences out of any writer, which may appear to contradict his avowed doctrine. However, in this case, we want not these apologies; for, after all, what do these Fathers say? Alexander's notions are adjusted in Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, and the whole passage there given us both in Greek and English: in the latter it runs thus: "These inventors of idle tales (the Arians) pretend, that we, "who reject their impious and unscriptural blasphemy against Christ, as being from nothing, assert two unbegotten Beings: alleging very ignorantly, that one of these two we must of necessity hold; either that he (Christ) is from nothing, or that there must be two unbegotten Beings. Unthinking men! not to consider the great distance there is between the unbegotten Father, and the things created by him out of nothing, (as well ra-

[o] St. Jerom apud Bingham, book VI. chap. iii. sect. 10. where may be seen an account of the whole transaction: or in Dr. Waterland's First Defence, p. 468. or in the Importance, &c. p. 330. or in Berriman, p. 228, &c.

[p] First Defence, p. 469.

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" tional as irrational,) betwixt which two, comes in " the intermediate only begotten nature, of God the " Word, by whom the Father made all things out of " nothing [q]." What advantage now can this passage give our author, that he should triumph so much with it, p. 33, and again p. 77.? What does Alexander mean more by his middle nature, than the orthodox do now by their second Person? who, as they contend, is not of himself, but begotten. A writer who asserts the coeternity of the Son, and inseparability with the Father, his necessary existence and natural divinity, can hold no middle nature in our author's low sense of the word, or in any sense which the catholic side need be afraid of [r]. Pass we on to Athanasius, who [p. 35.] is introduced saying, that " in the creation " of the world, the Son acted in obedience to the " will and command [s] of God the Father; and that " he, the Son, being the sender of the Holy Ghost, " was greater than he." And what catholic writer will not say the same now? Only they will take this obedience of the Son in a sound, not servile sense; which we must undoubtedly exclude from the Persons of the Trinity [t]. The Son's fulfilling the Father's will in this great work of creation is a good argument for his being strictly and properly God; for who else was equal to the mighty task, or able

[q] Second Defence, p. 48.

[r] Ibid. First Defence, p. 144. Farther Defence, p. 123.

[s] This notion amongst the ancients was grounded chiefly upon two passages in the Psalms, [Psalm xxxiii. 9. cxlviii. 5.] and the first chapter of Genesis. Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 72.

[t] " Nihil creatum aut serviens in Trinitate credamus." Gennadius, quoted by our author, p. 128. Οὔτε οὖν κτιστόν τι ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ τριάδι. De Greg. Symb.

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to execute so high a charge[u]? "But he calls the "Son greater than the Spirit, because he sent him." Yes, in that respect and capacity; he is, as to dispensation, greater in office[x]. But will our author infer from hence a disparity of nature? let him make it good. Cannot one person be greater than another, unless their natures be different? Whatever he may do, he can never prove that Athanasius thought so. The other quotations from Alexander and Hilary only shew, that the Father, as Father, has the peculiar prerogative of being of or from none; that it would be impious to profess the Son to be unbegotten, ("unoriginate," our author loves to translate it, because there's ambiguity in the term,) allowing him at the same time a beginningless generation, and to be "God of God." To be greater in point of origin is one thing, to be greater with regard to nature and perfections quite another[y]. This the Country Clergyman has been often told; but he never considered it, "and, as it seems, never will."

I ought here to take notice, that he has here, and again, p. 50, changed Hilary's[z] negative into an af-

[u] Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 73—76. Second Defence, p. 144, 180, 335, &c.

[x] Sermons, p. 191. Second Defence, p. 54.

[y] Second Defence, p. 172—177. Farther Defence, p. 44, 45, &c. Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 42, 43.

[z] Hilary's words are, "Non præstantem quemquam cuiquam "genere substantiæ," (words dropped by our author,) "sed sub-"jectum alterum alteri nativitate naturæ. Patrem in eo majorem "esse, quod Pater est, Filium in eo *non*" (left out by our author, without a word of the matter) "minorem esse quod Filius est: "significationem interesse, non interesse naturam." Which last clause, though explanatory of the other, he has likewise dropped: and then begins again with—"Patri subjectus est ut autori." To

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firmative, without apprising his reader in the least of his having done so. He will say, perhaps, that the sense requires this alteration. Well, let him say so then; and not alter the text of his authors without condescending so much as to intimate the fact itself, much less his reason for it, if he has any. But the sense is good enough without this emendation. "The Father," says Hilary, "is," in some sense, "greater, because he is Father, and" yet "the Son "is not inferior," in the main, "because he is Son." But we are not, I perceive, to expect much fair dealing from these sincere men: he has mangled Hilary in other respects, as the reader will see, by comparing his quotations with those in the margin.

"In his sixth chapter he," Dr. Waterland, "un- "dertakes to shew the judgment of the primitive "churches, in relation to the necessity of believing "the doctrine of the Trinity." Christian Liberty, &c. p. 41. Dr. Waterland shews in that chapter the judgment of the primitive churches from three several topics; 1. By consulting the ancient creeds; 2. By observing what doctrines were condemned as impious and heretical; and, 3. By collecting the testimonies of Fathers declaring their own or the

which I beg leave to add,—"Non alter Deus in genere substan- "tiæ, sed unus Deus per substantiæ indifferentis essentiam." In his other quotation,—"Respuit ergo innascibilem Filium prædi- "cari fides sancta, ut per unum innascibilem Deum unum prædi- "cet;" he breaks off after "prædicet;" though it would have been no disparagement of his honesty, if he had added the next immediate words, viz. "Ut naturam unigenitam, ex innascibili "genitam essentia, in uno innascibilis Dei nomine complectatur." I thought that this manner of quoting had been so much exposed and exploded in Woolston's case, that every one else would have been ashamed of it. *Hil. de Synod.* 1185, 1187, 1189, 1190.

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churches' sentiments. Our author begins with attacking the first topic, that drawn from the ancient creeds: he won't allow that the doctrine defended by Dr. Waterland is so much as implied in them [a]. But here, as usual, he maims and misrepresents the doctor's argument, and then makes himself merry with it. "In the creeds we profess to believe in "God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost; this is "declaring the sacred three to be the one God."— "Notably proved," &c. p. 42. Nay, but let the argument be fairly stated. The doctor takes notice that several learned men have conceived that the doctrine of the Trinity in the earliest times made up the whole of their creeds; and that Episcopius himself was of opinion, that the ancient baptismal creed was no more than this: "I believe in God, the Fa- "ther, Son, and Holy Ghost." Here bishop Bull and the doctor observe, that the title, *God*, is not to be restrained to the Father, but belongs, in common, to the Son and Holy Spirit. This is plain in the Latin and Greek forms; *Credo in Deum, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum*; Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; which is the same, in effect, as to say, *I believe in God, which God is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;* and was so understood by the ancients. When creeds came to be enlarged, the additional and intermediate articles carried the word *Son* and *Holy Ghost* so far from the title *God*, that it looked as if it were designed to be applied to the Father only; contrary to the intent and meaning of those who compiled those larger

[a] See the Importance, &c. p. 223, 224. See this proved by bishop Stillingfleet on the Trinity, chap. ix. and Dr. Waterland's Eighth Sermon.

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creeds. So that bishop Bull's observation is perfectly just; viz. that that great truth, that the Son and Holy Ghost is one God with the Father, was more clearly expressed in these few words; "I believe in "God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," than in the larger subsequent creeds. For certainly that ancient form, so worded, did evidently and uncontestably carry in it a declaration and confession, that the three divine Persons were the one God of Christians. Let the reader turn to the pages of Dr. Waterland's book above referred to, and compare them with what I have said, and I am afraid the laugh will fall upon our author; since there is nothing notable but his own dexterity in eluding an argument which he could not answer. "But let us hear "how St. Paul understands the words;" what words? the words of the ancient creeds? Be that as it will; "he says *one Spirit—one Lord—one God and* "*Father of all, who is above all.* Here, not the "three divine Persons, but one of the divine Per- "sons, the Father only, is declared to be the one "true God of Christians; as the same apostle says "in another place: *to us* (Christians) *there is but* "*one God, even the Father.*" The Father indeed, in these passages, is styled the *one God;* but how? in opposition to, and exclusive of the Son and Spirit? then they must not be God at all, contrary to all scripture and all antiquity; which call the Son, especially, *God* in numberless places. "But never is "he called the *one God,* either in any ancient creed, "or by any ancient catholic writer whatsoever[b]." Suppose this report to be true, what will follow?

[b] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 141.

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there are some high titles peculiarly be- to the Father, for that very reason, because Father. If he be called emphatically, emi- tly, primarily, the *one God*, it is not because he so in any higher or any different sense of the word *God*; but upon other accounts, because he is first known, or more universally acknowledged, or chiefly as he is the Head, Fountain, or Root of the other two divine Persons; who are therefore tacitly included in him, and referred up to him; or, at least, are not excluded. The Son is styled the *one* Lord, yet not exclusive of the Father; the Holy Ghost is emphatically called *the Spirit*, yet not exclusive either of the Father or the Son. From such texts and titles as these, therefore, may be unanswerably inferred a distinction of persons against the Sabellians; but no inequality of nature against the orthodox. But our author will say, if the three divine Persons are implied in the one God, they are implied in the one God the Father, p. 43. Nay, the term *one God*, in such cases, is understood of the Father singly, though not exclusively. "We do not "mean by the term *Father*, both Father and Son, "but we consider the Father singly, abstracting "from the consideration of God the Son, not ex- "cluding him from partaking of the same God- "head [c]." These things have often been set before our author in the clearest and strongest light; and are not repeated here with a view to convince him, (nobody is so vain as to attempt or hope that,) but that the reader may not imagine that there is any

[c] See Dr. Waterland's First Defence, p. 8, 9, 10. Second Defence, p. 50—61. Sermons, p. 123, &c.

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thing new or unanswerable in cavils and objections, which, in every shape and colour they could appear in, have been entirely baffled and defeated. His first text [Ephes. iv. 6.] was generally understood by the ancients of the whole Trinity, (so little did they dream of his inference, that the Father only is the *one God* of Christians,) *above all* as Father, *through all* by the Word, and *in all* by the Holy Ghost. And his second, [1 Cor. viii. 6.] when fairly expounded, is strong against him: *There is*, says the apostle, *none other God but one*, ver. 4. Here he foresaw an objection might be started, which therefore he anticipates, ver. 5. *For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many and lords many,)* that is, Though there be many that are called and accounted gods and lords by the heathen, or else are styled gods and lords in scripture[d], as angels in heaven, and princes and magistrates on earth; yet, *to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* If the Son is not here to be referred to the *one God*, why did the apostle mention him at all? Upon this supposition is it not as unaccountable as if he had said, *There is but one God, the Father*, and Michael the archangel? Is the Son excluded amongst the false or nominal gods, mentioned in ver. 5? The gentleman will hardly say so; but he will allege, that the Son is contradistinguished from the Father, whom the apostle there styles the *one God*. And must they

[d] Vid. Bisterfeldii Mysterium Pietatis contra Crellium, p. 35, 36, &c.

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not necessarily be contradistinguished, be pointed out to us by distinct personal characters and operations, if the plurality of Persons be revealed at all? The Father is here styled the *one God*, with this further characteristic—*of whom are all things*; the Son is called the *one Lord*, with this note of distinction, that he is the Person *by whom are all things*. Suppose these personal characters and distinctions had not been observed here by the apostle, and the same method had been almost or altogether uniformly kept up through the whole tenor and style of scripture, and what would have been the consequence? Why, for want of such plain and uncontestable marks of personal distinction, the catholics must have been exposed defenceless to the attacks of Sabellians and Unitarians; or, perhaps, never have dreamt of a trinity of Persons in the Godhead at all. As therefore such contradistinctions are necessary, even upon supposition of the truth of our doctrine, it is an odd way to make them an argument backwards against the truth of that very doctrine. In short, so far is this passage from disserving the catholic hypothesis, that there are two things suggested in it which are not to be accounted for upon any other: the Son is here represented as a creating and as an adorable Lord; the author of our being, and the object of our worship. And if Christianity allows us to think thus of any being, besides, and different from the *one God*; let the professors of it cease to charge the heathens with polytheism and idolatry. The adversary, no doubt, will still wrangle on with their prepositions, their *of*, and their *by* or *through*; but that matter has been en-

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tirely cleared up to universal satisfaction [e]. The Father and the Son, the one God and one Lord, are no otherwise distinguished than in person, and in the manner, or order, of operating; not as one cause from another cause: "for as all things are of one, "and by the other, both together are one cause of "all things; their operations undivided, their na- "ture, power, perfections, and glory one." But whither have this author's excursions led me? An apostle must be heard with reverence whenever he speaks; but why is St. Paul brought in as a witness, not of the truth, but of the intent and meaning of the primitive creeds? If the ancients actually did mean, by the forms above mentioned, to profess their belief in the sacred Three, as being the one God, nothing that St. Paul has said can alter the case, or make their meaning different from what it really was. But when their meaning is once fixed, by proper evidences, to be altogether contradictory to what this gentleman would impose upon St. Paul, it will afford us a very strong presumption against such Arian glosses upon holy scripture.

With our author's leave, then, we will return to the business of creeds. The ancient Creed of Jerusalem, preserved by Cyril, is very express for the divinity of the Son [f]; no wonder, therefore, that this writer has something to offer in disparagement of it: "It may be questioned whether it be older than the "fourth century," p. 43. He may make a question

[e] Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 179, 437, 462. Sermons, p. 54, &c. 78, 106, 111. Farther Defence, p. 14, &c. and places there referred to.

[f] See the Importance, &c. p. 230.

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of any thing; but what ground is there to question that the Creed is not as ancient as it pretends to be? Would he intimate, by twice calling it the Creed of Cyril, that Cyril forged it? Cyril found it there, and, whilst he was catechist, expounded it to the *competentes*, or candidates of baptism. "However, there is good reason to think that the words "(Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν) *true God* were inserted out of the "Nicene Creed; because they are not to be found "in any creed of the three first centuries, though "in some of them Christ is styled *God*." This, I suppose, is his "good reason;" but is it not begging the question? or else arguing very inconclusively? If he means that the words are not to be found in any other creed of the three first centuries, that may be true; and yet no "good reason" to think that they were inserted into this out of the Nicene Creed. Bishop Bull has made the reverse appear very probable, that the Nicene Fathers took these words from the old Jerusalem Creed[g]. The Ante-Nicene church was not ignorant that the title of *true God* belonged to Christ; besides, if they styled him *God*, it is sufficient, as they knew of no distinction between *God* and *true God* before the Arian controversy[h]. From the Creed, he comes to St. Cyril's own sentiments; and he expresses, he says, his faith very clearly, that "the one God of Christians was God "the Father only, in contradistinction to the Son." In answer to which stale pretence he has often been told, that, whatever contradistinction there may be, there is no opposition to the Son, or excluding him from the same Godhead. The exclusive terms con-

[g] Bull. Judic. Eccles. cap. vi. sect. 5.

[h] Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 206—214.

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cern not him at all, as he is not another God, but reckoned with the Father, and referred up to him. This matter has been so well adjusted, that I have nothing to do but to refer[i]. Cyril, he owns, "held "the Son to be true God, and consubstantial with "the Father;" and yet (what is very strange) did not infer that he was equal to him. The reason perhaps may be, that he thought the inference so plain, that he left his readers to make it. Our author, however, will not allow, that being consubstantial implies any such thing; or that it was understood to do so by the council of Nice. But it has been shewn, that they did understand it to imply equality of nature[k]; which is abundantly sufficient to overthrow the Arian notion of the Father's supremacy. Our author's conclusion is truly marvellous; "thus his (Dr. Waterland's) own author, an "Athanasian too, is clear and strong against his doc- "trine of the Trinity." Cyril's sentiment of the supremacy may be seen in the doctor's Farther Defence[l]; where he holds no subjection of the Son, but what is voluntary and chosen, and no supremacy of the Father, but that of order and office, (not in nature,) just as Dr. Waterland does. So that he is "clear and strong" against this gentleman's doctrine of the Trinity, if one may call it so. Irenæus will come under consideration again, and so we may pass him by in this place: indeed his principles have been shewn to be so diametrically opposite to Arian-

[i] Dr. Waterland's Sermons, IV. per tot. Second Defence, p. 26, 51, 52, 79, 94, 193, 385, 462, 463. Third Defence, p. 33, 34. Alexander's Essay on Irenæus, p. 119.

[k] First Defence, p. 461.

[l] Farther Defence, p. 125.

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ism, in a late excellent Essay [m] upon him, that one would think the advocates for it should, in mere prudence, give over alleging him. To invalidate Tertullian's evidence, our author repeats the old objection, that he was a Montanist, and had learned his doctrine of their Paraclete. He should have answered, if he were able, what bishop Bull [n], Dr. Berriman, and Mr. Welchman lately have replied upon that head. Tertullian, he says, "never pretends or "intimates it to have been the doctrine of the ca- "tholic church:" which is not true; for he says he had (*semper*) always believed so [o], and was only better instructed, or more confirmed by his new Paraclete, in the same doctrine which he had received before. "Nay, he owns that the catholics charged "his new doctrine with tritheism," p. 47; in which assertion there is, I am afraid, little more truth than in the former. Tertullian was not writing against the catholics, and says nothing of them; he spake of the Praxean heretics, who were not catholics [p]. Noetians and Sabellians afterwards repeated the same charge of three Gods against the catholics: from whence it is clear as the light, that the Holy Ghost (as well as the Son) was then owned by the church to be God. He comes next to what he calls the "famous romantic Creed of Gregory of Neocæ- "sarea," which he roundly pronounces "spurious." But here, again, he takes no manner of notice of what is pleaded for the genuineness of it by the authors re-

[m] Essay on Irenæus, by Mr. Alexander; printed in 1727.

[n] D. Fid. N. sect. ii. cap. 7. sect. 7. Berriman's Historical Account, p. 114. Welchman, Præf. ad Tertull. contr. Prax. p. 5. &c.

[o] Contr. Prax. cap. ii. p. 5. ed. Welch. [p] Ibid. cap. iii.

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ferred to in the Importance[q], p. 233. If there be some romance in the circumstances, as to the manner of Gregory's coming at the Creed, that is rather an argument for than against its being his[r]. Succeeding writers had a mind to magnify the matter; and, as is usual in such cases, affecting the marvellous, overlooked the credible. But why must this story deprive the good Father of his property? we must have better evidence before we dispossess him: yet this writer has nothing to offer but frivolous pretences, obviated before by bishop Bull[s]. Eusebius and Jerome, it seems, do not mention it: "Quasi sci-"licet," says that great prelate, "Eusebius et Hie-"ronymus omnia veterum Patrum scripta et facta "commemoraverint." Eusebius, by some means or other, says very little, in his History, of St. Gregory's praises; and Jerome follows him, κατὰ πόδας: so that their silence amounts to a very slender argument. And as to what our author says of the style of the Creed, and that "some parts of it savour of "being later than the council of Nice;" it only depends upon his taste and skill in criticism; which I shall by no means go about to disparage, since he himself has been so good as to prevent any ill effects from this sort of reasoning. For, says he, "the "(ὁμοούσιος) *consubstantiality* is not mentioned in it:" and again, "it contradicts the council of Nice in "one point," &c. which, to be sure, must make it

[q] Bishop Bull, Fabricius, Dr. Berriman, Mr. Abr. Taylor. The reader may also see Dr. Waterland's Farther Defence, p. 120.

[r] It was fabled of Numa's ancile, that it fell from heaven; nobody believes that circumstance of the story, yet nobody questions its being his.

[s] D. Fid. Nic. sect. ii. cap. 12. p. 153. ed. 1703.

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very probable that it was drawn up after that council. The contradiction he speaks of amounts only to a difference in words[t]; which however is a good presumption that this Creed is not later than the council of Nice. He seems at last to be aware that the Creed will still keep its ground, notwithstanding his surmises against it; and therefore he graciously gives the doctor leave to make his best of it. "Even "in this Creed the Holy Ghost is not styled God:" but he is described in such express characters of divinity, as no art can elude: which is better and stronger than the mere title of *God* would have been: for the Arians have ways of equivocating with that high name. "However, neither the consub- "stantiality nor coequality of the Son and Spirit "with the Father are expressed or implied in it." What? are they not? let any one read the Creed, and believe his own eyes: and let this man answer what the Creed does say, and then observe what the Creed does not say. Surely it intimates the three divine Persons to be one God, when it calls them "a perfect Trinity, undivided, unseparated in glory, "eternity, and dominion."

We have now done with the Creeds; and if this writer would stand by the rule which he says he agrees to, viz. "that they are to be interpreted ac- "cording to the mind of the church, and that the "mind of the church is to be learned chiefly from "the writings of the Fathers," the dispute would be at an end. But instead of regarding what the Fathers, alleged by Dr. Waterland, say, he only abusively calls them "a parcel of false and insufficient wit-

[t] See Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 287. Third Defence, p. 23.

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"nesses,"—"engaged to support innovations made "in the faith of the ancient church." But letting this pass, as the genuine effect and expression of his Christian Liberty, what has he to offer in bar of their evidence? They are all, he complains, p. 45. Post-Nicene writers; whereas the doctor, he thinks, should have proved his doctrine from the catholic writers of the Ante-Nicene church. What, must the doctor prove every thing, in every place? He has proved the truth of his doctrine from antiquity in his several Defences; which, we must still beg leave to say, remain unanswered. He had nothing to do here but to cite the oldest interpreters of creeds, whether Post-Nicene or Ante-Nicene. If the author wants Ante-Nicene Fathers, Dr. Waterland has produced them even in this (vi.) chapter, to shew what they thought of the necessity or importance of faith in the ever blessed Trinity, the argument there under consideration. But, to shew how incompetent these Post-Nicene witnesses are, our author chooses to give a specimen in the famousest of them, Athanasius; whom he represents as ignorant of the doctrine of the primitive church, because he demanded of Arius, "from whom of the primitive saints he "learned his doctrine, that the Son subsisted by the "will of the Father?" He does not tell us, what "primitive saint" Arius was pleased to mention upon this occasion; and indeed he could not justly name one that asserted it in his words and in his sense, or that did not contradict and disclaim it, if so understood as to make the Son's real existence precarious or temporal. They might (some of them) say that the Son was *generated* by will; but where do they say that he *subsisted* (ὑπῆρξε) by will? but this

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whole matter is fully and clearly stated in the doctor's Second Defence[u]. He thinks that the Arians might very well have asked Athanasius, what primitive writer taught his doctrine of the Son's deriving his subsistence, not from the will, but from the nature of the Father? Yes, and have been laughed at for doing it. But they were too wise or too conceited to hearken to the ancients, and learn wisdom from them, resting their cause on logical subtilties[x], as their followers do now on metaphysical. At the bottom of his page he refers us, for the concurrent sense of antiquity with regard to this point, to the notes which are added at the end of Novatian, published by Mr. Jackson; in reply to which I will only give him Mr. Welchman's words in his Appendix to the same author: "Nihil protulit Jackson, cui a ca-"tholicis, Bullo præsertim Waterlandoque, jam du-"dum non sit responsum satis, superque etiam," p. 12. And now we have Hilary introduced and hardly used again: our author chops him up in the middle, scarce allowing him to give in half his evidence. "What thinks he" (Dr. Waterland) "of Hi-"lary's saying, herein, more especially, The Son is "not compared or equalled to the Father, as being "subject to him by a submission of obedience,—as "being sent by him," &c. Why doubtless, sir, Dr. Waterland thinks, that, as to his office and mission, the Son is not equal to the Father. But he thinks at the same time, that if you would have suffered Hilary to say on, he would have said nothing to your purpose; nay, something destructive of your whole scheme. "This subjection of piety," continues

[u] Qu. viii. See also the Third Defence, p. 24, 25, &c.

[x] See preface to Second Defence.

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that Father, "or voluntary submission, is no diminu-
"tion of essence; nor does his office argue infe-
"riority of nature." What would this gentleman do with Hilary? neither the character of the man, nor the doctrine maintained by him, will do him any service. Hilary [y] endeavoured to explain Arian forms to a tolerable sense, and put the best construction upon bad words. He was too kind in doing it, and was blamed for it; though very orthodox all the while. His own sentiments are best known from his book on the Trinity, when he was not hampered with forms of other men [z]. However, he every where proclaims the equality and unity of essence or nature in Father and Son, admitting only a subordination of the Son as a Son, which bishop Bull and Dr. Waterland also do. What then can this writer mean by asking, "could he have produced a
"writer, even an Ante-Nicene writer, more strongly
"denying the equality both of nature and perfec-
"tions?" Unfortunate concession! The Ante-Nicene writers deny the equality of nature and perfections just as Hilary does. Let us here take him at his word, and believe for once that he is in the right.

[y] See Second Defence, p. 298. alias 302.

[z] "In eo quidem maxime non comparatur nec coæquatur Fi-
"lius Patri, dum subditus per obedientiæ obsequelam est—dum
"mittitur, dum accipit, dum in omnibus voluntati ejus, qui se
"misit, obsequitur." So far quoted by our author. The next immediate words are,—"Sed pietatis subjectio non est essentiæ di-
"minutio, nec religionis officium degenerem efficit naturam." *Hil. de Synod.* 1182. "Habens nomen, sed ejus cujus et filius
"est, fit patri et obsequio subjectus et nomine; ita tamen ut sub-
"jectio nominis proprietatem naturalis atque indifferentis testetur
"essentiæ," 1183. Compare Dr. Waterland's Third Defence, c. 5. p. 125.

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He next revives the old accusation against Gregory Nyssen, viz. that he is a tritheist. The charge is not peculiar to Gregory, but laid at the door of several other Fathers who lived about his time; and has been disproved by no less men than bishop Stillingfleet (in his Vindication of the Trinity, chap. vi.) and Dr. Wall, in his Infant Baptism, chap. v. part 2. not to mention others[a]. It would not therefore have been below our author to answer what these truly learned writers say, rather than repeat an old calumny which has been abundantly refuted, without offering any thing new to reinforce it. He argues next, (p. 51,) that the nature and perfections of the Son cannot be either the same, or absolutely equal to the nature and perfections of the Father, because they are unoriginated in the one, and originated in the other: which poor quibble has been considered, with more regard than it deserves, by Dr. Waterland in several places of his works[b]. The unoriginateness of the Father (considered as different from necessary existence, which equally belongs to the Son, or else he is a creature, a being of precarious and contingent existence) is only a relation of order, a mode of existing. And the same nature, the same real powers and perfections, are common to both; (strange consequences else would follow;) though the manner of their subsistence, the unoriginateness of the one, and originateness of the other, be different. But why do these men, who are always declaiming against scholastic subtilties and

[a] See Second Defence, p. 240.

[b] Answer to Whitby, p. 14, &c. Second Defence, p. 215, 216, &c. 393, 394. Third Defence, p. 49.

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metaphysics, retreat to them themselves, as their only sanctuary, when they are pressed? Why are Fathers and Scriptures quitted for uncertain and fallacious reasonings in matters uncontestably above our comprehension? We see that "there is the "same life in root and branches, the same light is "the sun and its rays, the same virtue in the centre "and what proceeds from it. And though no com- "parisons are sufficient to illustrate infinity, and "there must be a great deal more than we are able "to conceive; yet there is no principle of reason to "contradict this notion, that the same powers, pro- "perties, perfections, may be diversely considered in "the fountain from whence they flow, and in the "streams to which they descend." The aspersions revived and cast upon Dionysius of Alexandria (p. 52.) have been often wiped off by learned men, and Dionysius unanswerably cleared [c]. If our author were but as orthodox as that Father, he had saved himself this trouble. Or could he prove that Dionysius held the Son to be a creature, we would allow that he was guilty of evasion; these two things have generally gone together. As to Novatian, he thinks him all his own: but, upon that supposition, he is a witness scarce worth contending for, because egregiously inconsistent with himself. He speaks plainly enough to the point for which Dr. Waterland cited him in the Importance, viz. "that the Son of God "is God, as every son of man is man [d]." If the reader would see his vindication with respect to

[c] See Second Defence, p. 46; and authors there referred to, p. 346; and Third Defence, p. 118, 119.

[d] See Importance, &c. p. 243.

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other articles, he may consult the doctor's Defences[e]. Our author comes now to mere rant, and rodomontade, and false report. *Pauperis est numerare pecus*;—"The ancient church always, and every "where,"—and "the primitive Fathers," all to a man, were, he would have us believe, just as he is. As this is mere confident talk, which has been proved over and over again to be entirely groundless[f], he must not expect any further answer.

"Next, Dr. Waterland gives his reader a long de-"tail of old heretics," &c. (Christian Liberty, &c. p. 56.) "which, had I been in his case, I would not "have said one word about." Very likely, sir: but your reason. "Because the scholastic Trinitarian "notion is a compound of all the first six heresies, "with the addition of a seventh, worse than any of "them." Which are we here to admire, the impertinence or the iniquity of this assertion? if he mean by the "scholastic Trinitarian notion," something

[e] First Defence, p. 137—141; Second Defence, p. 56, 124, 145, 227, 294, 497, 502; Third Defence, p. 118. with references.

[f] The ancient church held the three Persons to be one God. See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, VIIIth, p. 299, &c.; Remarks on Clarke's Catechism, pages 72, 73. To be jointly Creator of all things: see Defence, p. 188; Second Defence, p. 334, &c.; Sermons, p. 69, &c. The Father is eminently or primarily, not solely or separately, Creator. On account of his being first Person he is emphatically styled *Maker*, &c. not excluding the joint operation of the other two. For the "unoriginated supremacy of the "Father," see Second Defence, p. 201, 202, 438, 439; Third Defence, p. 45. Holy Ghost, God: see Sermons, p. 191; Importance, p. 319. The objecting three Gods to the church proves that the Holy Ghost was received as God. Son and Spirit not accounted creatures: see Defence, p. 197; Answer to Whitby, p. 33, 34; Second Defence, p. 340, &c.; Browne's Animadversions on two Pieces, p. 43, 45.

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different from that maintained by the church, it is nothing at all to his purpose: he may combat this phantom as long as he pleases. But if this infamous reflection be cast on the catholic doctrine, where is modesty? where decorum? what is abuse and insolence, if this be not? To brand the doctrine of all the Christian churches in the world, as a "compound of the six first heresies, with the addition of a seventh, worse than any of them!" But he begins, I perceive, to be heated and open, and to shew himself in his true colours. He is sometimes angry that his opinion is called Arianism, and the party reputed Arians; but he seems to have got over that point here, and so turns downright advocate for Arius. "The pure uncorrupt Ante-Nicene church," says he, "never condemned his doctrine." They never condemned Arius till he appeared; but always condemned his doctrine, directly or indirectly. When his doctrine had made some noise and disturbance in the world, the council of Nice was assembled to condemn it. This was the first occasion they had to do so, explicitly and formally; and, should our author here be so shrewd as to say, that the Nicene council was not the Ante-Nicene church, what can he infer from this wise remark? They could not condemn his heresy before they heard of it. He next extends some marks of his favour to the other heretics[g] recited by Dr. Waterland. "Tritheism was too bad for any of them to "hold." But, if we will believe him, it was not too bad for some of the Fathers to hold, nor for some of the modern Trinitarians to hold now. But he is

[g] Cerinthus, Ebion, Theodotus, Artemon, Beryllus, and Paul of Samosata. See Importance, &c. p. 246.

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perfectly regardless what, and of whom he speaks; Fathers of the church shall be heretics, and heretics shall be Fathers of the church;

Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.

"The modern scholastic Trinitarians," says he, "consist of two sects, one of which holds that the "Father, Son, and Spirit are—the same numerical "being or agent, distinguished only modally, or no-"minally, by the appellations of Father, Son, and "Spirit." He has certainly mistaken the meaning of the word; this must be a sect, not of Trinitarians, but of Unitarians. And where is this numerous sect to be found? I have heard of a gentleman who thought he had found it once; and very gravely wrote an answer to Mr. Nye, the noted Socinian, taking him all the while for the mouth of the orthodox. It is well if our author be not under the same mistake still, and so takes the Unitarian-Socinian brotherhood for a numerous part of the Trinitarians. The charge, so far as there is any sense in it, has been answered before [h]: and so likewise has his other cavil, about the Son's not being styled "God supreme over all;" or, if it had not, he is so kind as to answer it himself. For he says, p. 57, that it was "the peculiar character of God the Fa-"ther;" "to assert the Son to be God supreme over "all, is the same as to assert, that he is the Father," p. 68, in note. And "it is the peculiar characteristic "of his Person, who is *God over all*, to be the Fa-"ther," p. 103. If so, if the title of "God supreme "over all" be the "peculiar characteristic" of the "Person" of the "Father," we should refuse, as

[h] Dr. Waterland's Answer to Whitby, p. 7, 8.

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much as he can do, to apply it to the Son; because we would not make them one Person, but two Persons; always keeping their personal character distinct. But the truth seems to be this[i], that "God "supreme over all," was denied, or attributed to the Son, just as it was understood: if the design was thereby to make him the same Person with the Father, in the Sabellian sense, or to set him above the Father, or above the Creator of the world, as some other heretics pretended; it was reckoned impious and heretical so to apply it. Otherwise, they made no scruple at all in the case; as is evident from their understanding Rom. ix. 5. of God the Son[k].

"Another sect of the modern Trinitarians main-"tains"—what? It comes out at last;—"tritheism, "in the highest and strictest sense[l]." And now he is going to let his pen run mad again, and to throw a heap of calumny upon Dr. Waterland, which he knows is no conviction. The Son's being Son is not, cannot be founded on mere voluntary agreement, but is natural; and this natural Sonship made it proper and congruous that he should be sent and act the ministerial part[m]. Which, by agreement and

[i] See Dr. Waterland's Answer to Whitby, p. 23, 24. Eusebius himself allowed that title to God the Son, in a sound and good sense: see Second Defence, p. 152, 153.

[k] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 221, &c.

[l] See a full answer to this calumny, First Defence, p. 331, 332, 333. Sermon IV. How the ancients answered the like charge, see First Defence, p. 386, &c.

[m] Hæc sunt satis ad divini, de incarnatione Verbi, consilii probandam congruentiam. Quam non sic tamen interpretari debemus, tanquam alia Persona idem præstare nequiverit: potuit enim, si ita fieri placuisset, vel Pater homo fieri, vel Spiritus Sanctus. Quod magister sententiarum docet, in eoque suffragatores habet,

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consent, he was graciously pleased to condescend to, his equality in nature exempting him from the necessity of submitting to it. This is Dr. Waterland's doctrine[n]; and I will venture to say, every man's that is a Christian. A change here affects the whole scheme of salvation, and makes a fundamental alteration in the new covenant; at once depriving Christ of his divine nature, and the merit of his undertakings and satisfaction for us, and us of our consolation and hope in his blood. Yet this writer wants to have it allowed him, that the Father could not, physically, be incarnate, &c. upon the account of the absolute perfection, or pure simplicity, of the divine nature: which would be to ungod the Son with a witness; and therefore Dr. Waterland will not allow it. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* Still he goes on (p. 60.) to repeat and multiply scandal, intimating that Dr. Waterland holds the incarnation of the Son to have been not real, but in appearance only; "accordingly, in his explication of Phil. ii. 7. he" (Dr. Waterland) "says, that Christ emptied himself in "appearance." Well, and what then? The doctor holds, at the same time, that Christ assumed human nature in reality[o]; veiling, as it were, the glories of his divine nature, of which it was not possible for him really to divest himself. Does not this gentle-

cum scholæ principe, theologos omnes.—Veterum quam plurimorum opinio ista fuit, Patrem nullo modo hominem assumere potuisse, nec se oculis aspectabilem exhibere. Contra quam in primo et octavo de Trinitate disputavimus: est enim falsa, neque vero fundamento nititur. *Petavii de Incarnatione*, lib. ii. cap. 15. Dogm. Th. tom. iv. 192.

[n] See Answer to Whitby, p. 73; Second Defence, p. 128, &c.; Third Defence, p. 37, 39, 69, 73, 74, 75.

[o] See Third Defence, p. 87, 88.

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man know, that the catholic doctrine is, that Christ was God and man? which I am not able to see how he could be, if he "emptied" himself of his Godhead any otherwise than "in appearance," (for would not that be ceasing really to be God?) when he was made man in reality. However, though he cannot make Dr. Waterland deny the incarnation, he sets himself to argue against it in a most presumptuous manner; as if he had clear and adequate ideas with reference to this *great mystery of godliness*. His argument amounts to this, that since (according to the orthodox) the three Persons have all the same substance, if one of them (the second, for instance) be incarnate, the other two, Father and Holy Ghost, must be so likewise. Give me the credulity of a child, rather than the reasoning pride of a vain philosopher! What, is he certain that unity of substance infers unity of Person? Is he certain, that, if the substance be one, the Persons cannot be distinct, and so have distinct things predicated of them[p]? Is he certain, who in his former pages talked like a mere sceptic, as if there was no such thing as being certain of the right and reason of the cause, even in very plain and obvious matters, without infallibility? What new light has he received since, that he thus takes upon him to decide in the abstrusest points? But it is not his way to be consistent. We have had him before, and we shall doubtless have him again, haranguing against metaphysics[q], and the like; and

[p] See Third Defence, p. 21; Browne's Animadversions, p. 29, &c.; Second Defence, p. 324, 394, 447. or of the second edition, p. 329, 399, 452.

[q] See his fifty-sixth page; and in order to see how consistently this cant comes from the mouth of an Arian, whose whole

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yet he can condescend to produce such as he has, when he thinks he can serve a turn by them. And indeed this seems to be the Christian liberty they aim at, viz. a liberty to use false metaphysics, and make false interpretations of scripture, against the catholic faith; debarring, at the same time, the professors of it, from bringing true metaphysics and true interpretations in its defence and support.

In page 61, he quarrels with Dr. Waterland about little more than an expression, viz. that "the church "was at first put under the immediate conduct of "the Father[r]." He "would be glad," he says, "to "know, who first put under the Father," &c. "It "would be monstrous to hear or read, that the "church was put under the Father, as if he was ca-"pable of being put into an office, how high soever, "who is supreme over all." What tragical airs this gentleman can give himself now, at the mention of the Father's being put into an office, when, he knows, some years ago the word *God*, whether in Father or Son, was only a name of office. Well, but "who put things under the Father," who is "su-"preme over all?" *Supreme over all*, I conceive, is a relative title, and could not be predicated even of God, when there were no creatures over whom he

scheme is supported by false metaphysics, see also Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 300, 322, 480; Second Defence, p. 4, 63, 108, 144, 220, 330, 425, 434, 484, 511, 514, 520, first edit.; Importance, p. 33, 483.

[r] See Importance, p. 65, 66.

With reference to what our author says of the doctor's hearing St. Paul, he may please to recollect that the doctor has heard and explained him, (viz. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28.) in his Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition, &c. p. 41, 42, &c. The reader may compare Farther Defence, p. 44, 45.

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was supreme. When they were brought into being, they were put under him, and his title of *supremacy* commenced with the creation. The Jews afterwards were put under him in a peculiar sense, when he pleased to become their King, or to take upon him the kingly office. Saying that things were *put under him*, is not saying that another Person put him into office: he assumed the office, and put things under himself. When God takes any persons specially under his protection, they are then specially put under him; and he assumes the office of special protector. The modesty with which the doctor writes in that place particularly, might have screened him, one should think, from the censure of this hypercritic; and is what he would do well to imitate rather than condemn: though, after all, perhaps that was the very thing that provoked him.

I have insensibly got into the method which I promised to avoid, of remarking upon this writer page by page. Few of them indeed are unexceptionable, (not one, I may venture to say, that is wholly his own,) but however some regard must be had to time and patience. Yet here his absurdities come thick upon us, and we find him espousing an opinion which was formerly reckoned so detestable, that it incurred the anathema even of an Arian or Semi-Arian synod[s]: viz. that of Sirmium held against Photinus in the year 351. It would be easy to prove

[s] Si quis unicum Filium Dei crucifixum audiens, dealitatem ejus corruptionem vel passibilitatem aut demutationem vel deminutionem vel interfectionem sustinuisse dicat: anathema sit. *Hil. de Synod.* 1180.

For an account of this Sirmian council, see Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 296, &c.

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from the ancients, that the Λόγος is impassible; but I shall only here give the testimony of Origen, which is full and express to the purpose; and refer the reader to authors where he may see the suffrages of other Fathers. "But if the immortal God the Word, "assuming a mortal body and a human soul, seems "to Celsus to be changed and transformed; let him "learn that the Word, remaining the Word in sub- "stance, suffered nothing which the body and soul "suffered [t]." But our author chiefly depends upon Irenæus, taking no notice, *more suo*, that others have vindicated him from the imputation of holding any such opinion [u]. The heresy, he says, with which Irenæus every where charges Cerinthus is— "denying the (Λόγος) *Word*, or *Christ*, to be pas- "sible." Then Irenæus must be charged with the same heresy himself; for his certain doctrine is, that the Λόγος as such, was impassible [u]: and it was the constant doctrine of all Christian antiquity, as the contrary was both blasphemy and heresy. His at-

[t] Εἰ δὲ καὶ σῶμα θνητὸν καὶ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεὸς λόγος, δοκεῖ τῷ Κέλσῳ ἀλλάττεσθαι καὶ μεταπλάττεσθαι· μανθανέτω ὅτι ὁ λόγος τῇ οὐσίᾳ μένων λόγος, οὐδὲν μὲν πάσχει ὧν πάσχει τὸ σῶμα ἢ ἡ ψυχή. Contr. Cels. p. 170. ed. Cant. See also Ignat. Epist. ad Pol. edit. Oxon. per Smith, p. 8. and compare Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 254. Justin Martyr's testimony may be seen, p. 132. of the same Defence.

"They" (the catholics in opposition to the cavils of Nestorians) "believed the divine nature to be perfectly impassible; "and when they maintained that God was born and suffered, "they only meant that he was born and suffered according to the "flesh, in that human body which was properly his own." Dr. Berriman's Historical Account, p. 281. where may be seen the testimony of St. Cyril of Alexandria.

[u] See Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 414; Second Defence, p. 270, 271; Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 103.

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tempt to make Cerinthus's heresy the very image (as he speaks) of Dr. Waterland's is ridiculous[x]: Dr. Waterland does not suppose the man Jesus to be a distinct Person from the Word; but the man (the human soul and body) and the Word are one (compound) Person[y]: one *σύνθετόν τι χρῆμα*, as Origen[z] calls him. "I defy him" (Dr. Waterland) "to shew "any real difference." What, is there no real difference between presence and absence, between union and no union, between dividing Jesus from Christ, and asserting one Jesus Christ? But our author will say, if the union continued, it is absurd to think that the Λόγος did not suffer. It is absurd, nay, it is worse than absurdity, to think that the *Logos* either did or could suffer. He had assumed, and personally united to his divine, the human nature; in this, he (that one Person, the God-man) suffered; not with respect to both the parts of the *compositum*, but in that capacity only in which he was capable of suffering. Man is a person compounded of body and soul; and when either of these suffers, we say, in common language, that he (the man, the one person) suffers, though but one part of his person be the immediate subject of his sufferings. If, through the intimate union of soul and body, the sufferings of the one affect the other also, it is because they are both passible; but were one of them absolutely impassible,

[x] Concerning Cerinthus, see Second Defence, p. 475; Importance, p. 246, 247, &c.; Berriman's Historical Account, p. 32, 33. He made Jesus and Christ two different Persons, neither of them properly divine.

[y] See Dr. Waterland's account of Person in his Second Defence p. 366—369.

[z] Contra Celsum, p. 51. ed. Cant. 4to.

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(as we say the *Logos* is,) it could not be affected at all by the sufferings of the other, how close and intimate soever the union was supposed to be. Our author therefore will never be able to prove that the *Logos* suffered, because the union continued at the passion of the man Jesus. As little will he be able to prove it from the force of scripture expressions, (1 Cor. ii. 8. Philipp. ii. 6, 8. Heb. ii. 10. quoted by him,) or those of Irenæus which are alleged by him to this purpose. St. John says, *The Word was made flesh* [a]: shall we say that the Word was changed and converted into flesh? the council of Sirmium, before mentioned, anathematizes those that say so [b]. The Word therefore only assumed into personal union with itself the human nature; and so, remaining one Person still, whatever either of the natures did or suffered might be attributed to that one [c] Per-

[a] Chap. i. 14.

[b] Si quis, *Verbum caro factum est*, audiens, Verbum in carnem translatum putet, vel demutationem sustinentem accepisse carnem dicat: anathema sit. *Hil. ubi sup.*

[c] —"This union was made without any change of the pro-"perties essential to each nature, so as to render those properties "convertible. For though there is a communication of names "and idioms, in consequence of the personal union between the "two natures of Christ, so that the very same Person that is "called the Son of God and the Son of man is said to have been "born, and to be from everlasting; to die, and to have life in "himself: yet this manner of speaking, which wholly arises from "the unity of Christ's person, does no more suppose any change "of the two natures, so as to render the properties of them con-"vertible, than it supposes, that because the same man is called "tall or healthy, with respect to the state of his body; or wise "and learned, with respect to the qualities of his mind; that "therefore his soul and body have no separate or distinct pro-"perties, but only such as may be reciprocally or indifferently "attributed to them both." *Dr. Fiddes, Th. Spec.* p. 463.

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son. This is justified by the common usage of language, and the common practice of writers, both ancient and modern. I will give him the words of one, which seem and sound as much to his purpose, as any he can bring from Irenæus, and yet he will not believe that the author of them holds the *Logos* to be passible. "It was *Jehovah* that was *pierced:* it "was *God* that purchased the church with *his* "*own blood;* it was ὁ δεσπότης, the *high Lord* that "bought us: it was the *Lord of glory* that was "crucified[d]." He would triumph with such a passage as this from an ancient writer; and yet it would do him no service. For this *Jehovah*, this *God*, this *high Lord*, this *Lord of glory* is also man; and, as such, he was *pierced*, shed *his blood*, and was *crucified*. But all his talk upon this subject is owing to his not knowing, or not considering, what a personal union means: and he may urge the same chicane against any personal union of human soul and body[e]. He may also be pleased to consider, whether, supposing our doctrine true, such sort of language may not and must not be used; which, therefore, can be no argument against it. He remarks at the bottom of the page, (66.) that, "in some creeds, God "the Father was peculiarly characterized as being "impassible." The reason is, because he was not incarnate, as Sabellians taught, was not personally united with any passible nature. Is not the Son too characterized as impassible even by Irenæus[f],

[d] Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 53.

[e] See ibid. p. 56, &c.

[f] Invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo. *Irenæus*, quoted by our author, p. 65.

Novatian, in answer to the objection, that if Christ be God,

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when he speaks of him with respect to his divine nature?

In page 66, he begins to insult Dr. Waterland for quoting 1 John v. 7. "He puts upon us," says this gentleman, "a spurious text, as before he gave us a "spurious Creed." The Creed has come under consideration before, and will, I question not, still be accounted genuine, notwithstanding his attempts against it. With regard to the text, he first civilly applies to the doctor Rev. xxii. 18. that "he may be "sensible of the danger of wilfully *adding* to the "word of God." But were it not his way to pick unconnected scraps out of authors, just so far as they seem to serve a present turn, he might have cast his eye upon the next verse; where he would have found as severe a penalty denounced against those who wilfully *take away* from it. He has no advantage here then; let us see what he offers next. —"Our reformers printed it in a different charac- "ter, to signify its being wanting in the original." What original? the particular copy or copies which they made use of were to them the original: and supposing it to have been wanting in this original, what then? might it not be in other originals? and was the state of criticism so perfect at that time, that the copies, which our reformers had, should fix the standard with regard to all others, and supersede future discoveries? The case seems to have been no more than this, that our reformers doubted of the genuineness of the place for a few years, upon the authority of Erasmus; but as he re-

and died, then God must have died; replies—"Quis non intelli- "gat, quod impassibilis sit divinitas, passibilis vero sit humana "fragilitas?" *Ed. Welchman*, p. 93.

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stored it in his third edition, so our reformers soon got over their scruples, and printed it like the rest in some very early editions [g]. But "it has since been "shewn to be an interpolation," &c.—Shewn! where, and by whom? this matter was debated between Mr. Martin and Mr. Emlyn. If the reader will be at the pains to go through the controversy, give him leave to judge for himself. He perhaps by this time may not be disposed to take things upon trust from other people's words, where he has been able to discover no extraordinary marks either of a sincere mind or a sound judgment. Since that, it has been attacked by an impious confederacy of men, (as it is supposed,) who have burlesqued the word of God, in a most infamous manner, by a vile and ludicrous version; and who deserve, not less than did the author of the Discourse of Freethinking, "to be de-"nied the common benefits of air and water [h]." If it be those worthies whom our author means, he must give me leave to refer to one who has repelled their impotent and malicious assaults; viz. Mr. Twells of Marlborough, in his Critical Examination of their New Text and Version, part ii. c. 3. "It "does not appear in any one Greek manuscript ex-"tant, that is genuine, or known to be older than "printing." I am so little acquainted with the learning and state of MSS. that I will not pretend to contradict this report; nor have I always met with that regard to truth in this writer's management of this controversy, as with entire acquiescence to believe it. If it appear in no MSS. extant,

[g] Wickliffe's New Testament by Lewis, pref. 101.

[h] Guardian, vol. i. N°. 3.

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above the age specified, pray what is become of them? It did appear in several to Laurentius Valla, to the editors of Complutum, to Erasmus, to R. Stephens, to Beza, to the Louvain divines, to Father Amelotte[i]. If they are perished since by age or accident, we cannot help it: all MS. at last must share the same fate; and must we then give up our Bibles? But possibly these MSS. (some of them at least) may still be in being, and only lie concealed in corners. It appears too in a MS. extant at Dublin[k]; will our author *prove* it (*saying* is nothing) to be later than the invention of printing? And as to the Latin MSS. far the greater number of those that have been hitherto collated retain it[l]. To go on; "it is not once cited by any ancient Greek "or Latin writer." What, the whole verse, I suppose, is not cited by any ancient Greek or Latin writer; is this his evasion? or is he here contradicting plain matter of fact? But see the authors just referred to[m]. "A scholar—might be ashamed "to allege it." No scholar, that is a Christian, will be ashamed to allege it, while it stands in the text of St. John's Epistle; and where, I question not, it will for ever stand, unless men lose all regard for

[i] See Mr. Martin's Critical Dissertation upon this passage, chap. viii. &c.; Examination of Mr. Emlyn's Answer to the Dissertation, chap. x. &c.; Genuineness of the Text, &c. part II. chap. ii. iii. &c.; Bishop Smalbroke's Enquiry into the Authority of the Complutensian edition, passim; Mr. Twells, ubi sup.

[k] Martin's Genuineness, &c. chap. xii.

[l] Bishop Smalbroke's Enquiry, &c. p. 52.

[m] To whom I may here add Dr. Wade; who, in the Appendix to his Short Enquiry into the Doctrine of the Trinity, has made it appear probable enough that the passage was read by Clement of Alexandria, p. 87, &c.

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what the same St. John says, Rev. xxii. 19. "Nor "is this all in Dr. Waterland's case. I have good "reason to believe that he was convinced, that St. "John really wrote no such text, when he first en- "tered into this controversy," &c. For fear his readers should think now that he really had some good reason to himself, he here gives us a silly bad one; viz. the doctor "did not allege it in his (con- "troversial) writings." The doctor had good reason for not alleging it then, as he knew it was contested, and would only give his adversaries a handle for running out perhaps forty or fifty pages upon a by-point, which his cause did not stand in need of; and which too was debated by others, viz. Mr. Martin and Mr. Emlyn. And as for the new light which our author talks of the doctor's receiving since, that might cause him to change his former sentiments, it is all a dream of his own, or borrowed from Mr. Whiston's Memoirs, p. 101. It happens unluckily for them both, that the doctor gave his judgment of this text (the same that he gives in the Importance) in the year 1723, in a Sermon then printed [n]. Did our author know this? if he did, "I should be sorry, "if to serve a present purpose" he "stifled it against "the conviction of his conscience: this would be," &c.—But I am not obliged to transcribe the abuses in his book into mine.

"Nothing further," he says, "in this long chapter

[n] *These three are one*, 1 John v. 7. "Which though a disputed "text, is yet not without very many and very considerable ap- "pearances of being truly genuine." A Familiar Discourse upon the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity; preached upon Trinity-Sunday, by Daniel Waterland, D. D.

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" of the doctor's remains to be observed, but his " saying," &c. p. 319. Yes, sure, there remained the testimonies of nine or ten Ante-Nicene Fathers, all confirming both the truth and importance of the doctrine opposed by this writer; and whose testimonies therefore he should have considered and replied to. But he finds it much easier to call impertinently for Ante-Nicene witnesses, where their evidence is not alleged, than to answer it where it is. His boasts of the Fathers, and mighty pretensions to the writings of the ancient church, cannot deceive any man that will read; and I must not be always transcribing and repeating what has been frequently and unanswerably offered by superior writers. Let the reader only consider and compare what Dr. Waterland has urged under the second Query of his Second Defence, in the fifth chapter of his Third, and Sermon VIIIth, and he will immediately see, that our author's scraps, considered as counter-evidence, will be as little able to stand before it, as a loose disconcerted rabble to oppose a regular well-disciplined army. Dr. Waterland has answered the objection of tritheism; Dr. Waterland has told him what Arianism is[o]; what then? He cannot open the ears of the deaf, or the eyes of the blind; and if men wilfully refuse either to hear or see, they are proof against all instruction. The seventh chapter of his Importance is designed to shew the " use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity in con- " troversies of faith." This, says our sagacious author, " might have been of some service to his cause, " had he shewn before, that the Fathers of the an-

[o] Defence, p. 204, 205, 220, 221, &c.

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" cient church, in their creeds or writings, had ever " countenanced it." And if the doctor had not shewn this before, even in the Importance, and more largely still in his Defences, he would not have offered this in the service of his cause. By this, therefore, let the matter be determined: let our author prove what he says, that the doctor has not " so much as an ap- " pearance of any evidence from the Fathers on his " side;" till when, the doctor's seventh chapter will be of great service to his cause. The truth is, the doctor has so great an appearance of evidence on his side, that unless this learned gentleman will undeceive us, by examining his testimonies one by one, shewing all along that they do not favour the doctor's principles, but are, at least, consistent with his own; we shall still think that his doctrine is not opposite to, but confirmed by the constant, unanimous, and universal sense of the primitive church. But instead of doing this, our author says, he " will " set before the reader the sense of the ancient " church, with respect to the doctrine of the Tri- " nity, in their interpretation of some principal texts " of scripture relating to it." This, I conceive, is dropping the respondent, the part which he should have performed; and only repeating old objections, or reviving old difficulties, which have been often accounted for before. The interpretation is not *their* interpretation, but *his own;* all his quotations from the Fathers fall short of his design in producing them, and therefore there is no manner of occasion particularly to discuss them. I shall only attend his motions, while he is interpreting away the sense of these principal texts, and take my leave. He begins with

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JOHN i. 1, 2, 3.

"Here," he says, "are indisputably two distinct "divine Agents, two acting Beings." This is indisputably false, according to the common use of language, which always means by two beings, two separate beings, two divided essences, or substances. If therefore Father and Son have one undivided essence, they cannot be called *two Beings*: two Persons the church teaches them to be, and that's as much as the text requires. But he wants to confound the terms of *being, agent, person*; and would shelter himself too under Dr. Waterland's authority, who "owns," he says, "that a person is an "intelligent agent." Yes, but he never owns that *person* and *intelligent agent* are terms reciprocal [p], but cautions expressly to the contrary. "Secondly," he says, "it is observable that St. John does not "style the Word *God*, or say that *he is God*, but "that *in the beginning he was God*." What can be the meaning of this? it is to introduce a very wild imagination, that the Word was only God, as he was the Messenger, Word, Angel, and Representative of the most high God, who appeared to Adam, the patriarchs, &c. and therefore thus appearing and acting ministerially in the name and by the authority of the supreme God, *he was in the beginning*, when he thus appeared and acted ministerially, God, or a divine Person. "When he was made flesh," he laid aside this character; that is, in consequence of this interpretation, he *ceased* to be *God*, for he *was God in the beginning* only as he sustained this

[p] Second Defence, p. 368.

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character; and therefore, when he laid it aside, he was God no longer. Well, "but instead of it, he re- "ceived a greater, more glorious, and divine name," &c. so that instead of losing any thing by ceasing to be God, he was a gainer by it. Yes, he was then "declared *the only-begotten of the Father*, and "our Lord and Saviour:" that is, having ceased to be God, which, it seems, is only laying aside a character, he was made a Son. Yes, "this is a more "eminent character" (what is this but a character too?) "than being merely the Word of God," &c. Wonderful account this! let us see how it squares with the scriptures. They represent the *Word's being made flesh* as a very great humiliation and abasement; but this account of the matter makes it a high advancement and exaltation. St. Paul says *he humbled, emptied, made himself of no reputation*; but, according to our author's comment, it was by "advancing, replenishing himself, assuming a more "eminent and glorious character." What a noble idea does this inspire of the love of Christ to mankind, who thus condescended to receive "a greater, "more glorious and divine name" for their sakes! and how much is Christianity beholden to such restorers of it! "After his resurrection from the "dead,"—well, what became of him then? "he "was then made *Lord over all*, which implied his "being God in a far higher sense than he was in the "beginning." So that having lost his Godship for about thirty years, he now begun to be God again, a greater God than ever he was before. Can any mortal read such divinity as this without some emotions either of mirth or anger? and I am al-

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most apt to think, that the man who is capable either of writing or believing it is not a proper object of the latter.

Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.

As for the Fathers, whom he here cites in his margin, they speak not up to his purpose, but are only an instance of the truth of what I said before, that his quotations fall short of his design in alleging them. The Fathers (and modern divines do the same) only vouch for the fact, viz. that it was the *Logos* who all along appeared to Adam and the patriarchs, &c. in the name and person of the Father, or of God. But his conclusion, that he *was God in the beginning* only in this sense, they leave him to prove by himself. This is the pinch of the question, and here he is left entirely destitute of evidence. This interpretation, so absurd in itself, and so utterly unsupported with any appearance of proof, would he substitute in the room of one which deserves a quite different character; as the reader will see if he pleases to consult the references [q]. His preposition (his διὰ, *through*) we have had before, and we shall have again, and there will be no end of it. Tertullian's remark is worth fifty such, "*fecit* "enim et ipse quæ facta sunt *per illum*[r]." If we will be guided either by scripture or common sense, God

[q] Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 66; Sermons, p. 1; Second Defence, p. 33, 178, 179. The sentiments of the ancients, with regard to Christ's appearing, &c. to Adam, &c. may be seen, Defence, p. 34, &c. 432; Sermons, p. 158; Second Defence, p. 163, &c. For the exaltation of Christ after his resurrection, see Sermon V.: and for Tertullian and Theophilus, First Defence, p. 41, &c.; Second Defence, p. 137.

——Hæc decies repetita.

[r] See Sermons, p. 45—48.

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Almighty neither uses nor wants any instruments or ministerial agents when he creates: he maketh all things, stretcheth forth the heavens alone, and spreadeth abroad the earth by himself. So that if the Son be not the one God with the Father, he certainly could have no hand in the creation. But he asks, "who can find out from the words of the apostle, "that the *Word* who was *with God*, and *by whom* "all things were made, is the same God with the "Father?" Any body can find this out, that can but make a syllogism; the *Word* is here characterized as *God in the beginning*, and *Maker* of every creature *that was made*; according to the whole tenor of scripture there is but one God and one Maker of all things; pray, who cannot find out the consequence? "Stale exploded pretence" this, says he, "that if he is not the same God with the Fa-"ther, he must be another God, and in consequence "there must be two Gods." Explode this pretence who will, it is no more than maintaining that dangerous position, that one and one are two. If the Son be God at all, and not "the same God with the "Father," he must be "another God," (must he not?) "and so in consequence there must be two Gods." No such thing, says our author, no such thing; "two "Gods are two unoriginated, two coordinate, two "equal, two supreme Gods." P. 74, 86. Ah! now the secret's out; and what a pity it is that reason, scripture, antiquity, all reclaim[s]. "Two equally su-"preme Gods!" why, never man was so silly as to believe any such absurdity: the very nations that

[s] See Sermons, pref. p. xxxi. &c; Second Defence, p. 29, 194, 201, &c.; First Defence, p. 337.

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deified garlic and onions were wiser. But what will not men assert in defence of a forlorn and baffled cause! It is not many ages since a learned man took it into his head to assert, that "worshipping "the host of heaven, sun, moon, and stars, as the "only supreme God, so as to exclude all apprehen-"sions of a spiritual and invisible Godhead, was the "true and only notion of idolatry." Put now to this our author's "true and only notion of two Gods," viz. that they must be "two equally supreme Gods," and between them they prove that there was never any such thing as idolatry or polytheism in the world. Besides, if "two Gods" and "two supreme Gods" be the same thing, I am not able to see how Christ can be God at all upon our author's principles, who has been labouring twenty years to prove that the Son is not supreme God. He seems to intimate that he thinks it absurd that the Son should be "the same "God" with the Father, "with whom" he was in the beginning; "the same God" with him who made all things "by him," p. 74. This, I suppose, he looks upon as equivalent to saying, that God was with himself, &c. But this, he knows, creates no difficulty to catholics, who contend for a distinction of Persons; which doctrine of theirs is not in any great danger from such quibbles as these. The Son is not the same Person with the Father, though he must be the same God. But, continues he, "Dr. Water-"land himself does not really mean that the Son is "the same God, i. e. the same individual Being, or "Agent, with the Father; he makes him as much a "distinct acting substance or agent as his opposers "do."—And "his adversaries—suppose as close and "intimate an union between the Father and the Son,

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"as Dr. Waterland does or can do." Why then are they his opposers and his adversaries? But how does Dr. Waterland make the Son "as much a distinct acting substance," &c. when he maintains that Father and Son are two "equal, united, inseparable Persons, in one substance:" and his opposers hold that they are two separate substances, divided from each other, one inferior to the other, and, in short, Creator and creature? And how do they suppose as close and intimate an union," &c. when all the union which they allow is, that of love, and concord, and power, and Dr. Waterland contends for the closest and most intimate in the world, even an unity of (what his adversaries very absurdly call *metaphysical*) substance? But are creature and Creator so united, or can they be? one omnipresent, the other not; one subsisting where the other is not[t]; one essentially infinite, and necessarily present to all things equally, the other determined and circumscribed by that portion of matter to which he is united[u]. But this writer continues—"two "Gods, howsoever united, are as much two Gods as "if not united."—Who can resist a demonstration worked up to the evidence of an identical proposition? two Gods are two Gods. If they be two Gods, then they are two Gods; but we say that they are not two Gods for this very reason, because they are united; because they have one divine substance, one Godhead. He therefore only begs the question, instead of proving any thing against Dr. Waterland, who has often shewn that union is sufficient to make

[t] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 146, 147.

[u] See a Dissertation on Matter and Spirit; just published by John Jackson, p. 55, 56.

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sameness[x]. However, on the other hand, two divine Persons, not united, but disparate and divided, a great God and a little God, (the Arian hypothesis,) certainly make two Gods[y]. "This charge," he says, "his (Dr. Waterland's) adversaries are clear of." But they cannot clear themselves of it without contradicting the common sense of mankind, by maintaining that two Gods must be two supreme Gods; and then who will not be "clear of this charge?" As to the other charge of their making the Son a creature, it has been considered above: only it is pleasant to take notice of his humour in retorting the charge upon Dr. Waterland. He is in the right to bring the doctor over, if he can; his cause will thrive the better for it. But pray how does the "doctor make the Son a creature?" Why, "he denies the Son to be unoriginated," and therefore, "if "there is no medium between the one supreme unoriginated God and a creature," the doctor, who denies the Son to be the former, must make him the latter. The whole strength of this acute argument lies in the equivocalness and ambiguity of the terms[z]. When Dr. Waterland denies the Son to be unoriginate, he does not by that intend to deny his necessary existence, but his self-existence, that he is *unbegotten* or *αὐτόθεος*; that is, in short, the Father himself, whose peculiar and personal character this is. But to do our author's cause any service, the doctor must deny the unoriginateness of the Son in the sense of necessary existence; which he does not, but asserts equally with respect to all the three di-

[x] Second Defence, p. 324, 394, 447.

[y] Defence, p. 5, 6; Second Defence, p. 29.

[z] See First and Second Defences under Query XIII.

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vine Persons. There is no medium between necessary existence, which Dr. Waterland ascribes to the Son, and precarious existence, which he always denies of him; and therefore does not make him a creature. But there is what we may call a medium between the unoriginated self-existence of the Father and a creature, and that is the μεσιτεύουσα φύσις μονογενὴς, as Alexander of Alexandria expresses himself, the only-begotten Son, who is God of God. But the Arian medium is the strangest that ever was heard of, and in reality coincides with one of the extremes. But Alexander has been considered above; so have the very passages of Origen and Eusebius (here again trumped up) by Dr. Waterland[a]; to whom he never pretends to rejoin any thing; designing, I suppose, his pamphlet not so much for an answer to any of the doctor's writings, as for a libel upon the doctor himself. The learned are well enough acquainted with the argument drawn from ὁ Θεὸς and Θεὸς, God with the article, and God without: and, as for others, I entirely agree with him, that they cannot clearly understand the force of it. With regard to the third verse, he says he will shew, that the ancients "unanimously understood "the Word, or Christ, to be the ministerial Agent, "who, in the creation of the world, acted in sub-"ordination and obedience to the sovereign will and "command of the Father, as the supreme God of the "universe." Here he makes a great show of the Fathers, which I do not think myself obliged to examine; as their sentiments in general, and many of

[a] Defence, p. 68, 69, &c.; Second Defence, p. 183, &c. Compare Answer to Whitby, p. 24; Second Defence, p. 69, 109, 186, &c.

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the particular passages here alleged, have been considered by the learned writer so often referred to [b]. A remark or two however I may offer, before I pass to another text.

For Origen's orthodoxy, with respect to the article of Christ's divinity, Dr. Waterland, he says, "is a "voucher." But how a voucher? what for every passage which this gentleman can bring as Origen's, though in reality perhaps spurious, or corrected in his later writings? In the main he has been abundantly vindicated; but is most to be depended upon in his famous piece against Celsus [c]. Let our author's quotation then, out of his Commentary on John, be compared with what Dr. Waterland has produced out of this later and more correct piece, and which side, pray, will have the advantage [d]? He next quotes Clemens Alexandrinus; "And it is "well known," he says, "that he believed the Son "to be a creature." On the contrary it is well known, that he believed the Son to be God in such a manner, as to attribute to him those very titles, which our modern Arians would appropriate to the

[b] How both Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers asserted and understood this matter, may be seen in Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 72, &c.; Defence, p. 184; Second Defence, p. 384, &c.; Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 141, &c. And if Post-Nicenes, such as Basil, Cyril, and bishop Bull, (the three last quoted by our author,) spoke in this manner of the Son, why may not Ante-Nicenes be supposed to do the same, without designing any thing thereby in favour of the conclusion aimed at by this writer? So that all his learning here is mere impertinence.

[c] Defence, p. 197, 258, &c.; Second Defence, p. 68, 347—352; Answer to Whitby, p. 80.

[d] Answer to Whitby, p. 24; Second Defence, p. 45, 69, 109, 188; Third Defence, p. 101.

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Father; ὁ Θεὸς, and παντοκράτωρ [e]. He quotes Irenæus, as saying that "God commanded the Word" &c. and then brings a sentence out of another part of his book, to shew that "he who commands is "greater and superior to him who is commanded:" applied by Irenæus to quite another purpose: but this is fair dealing, in comparison of what we sometimes meet with. He asserts in a note, (p. 84,) that "it is a solecism and absurdity in language to say "that all things were made (διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ) by him "who is God absolutely, or the supreme God." But absurd and solecistical as it may seem to this great critic in language, it is such as scripture uses; and such too as is sometimes used by those who write Greek in the greatest purity and perfection: as he might have seen, would he have consulted the authors referred to in the Importance [f].

Heb. i. 8, 9, 10.

The ninth verse of this passage Dr. Waterland understands of the Son "considered as man, and in "his state of humiliation." But our author appeals to the ancients: let us hear them. Irenæus says— "The Spirit hath characterized both the Persons "with the title *God;* both the Son who is anointed, "and, &c." Irenæus calls them both *God*, therefore he interpreted the unction of the divine nature; though, in the ninth chapter of the same book, he plainly interprets the unction of the Spirit's rest-

[e] Defence, p. 110; Second Defence, p. 185, 513; Third Defence, p. 114. Clemens does not make the Son a creature, see Second Defence, p. 95.

[f] Importance, &c. p. 487.

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ing on the human nature[g]—"Origen says, that the "prophet declares that this God, whose throne is "for ever and ever, is anointed by God, who is his "God." To make Origen consistent with himself, we may render his τοῦτον τὸν Θεὸν, this Person, who is God, is anointed, viz. in his human nature; for so he expressly interprets the unction elsewhere of the soul of Christ as anointed[h].—"And Eusebius of "Cæsarea," (N. B. the authorities cited in the Importance, p. 490, are as good or better than Eusebius,) "he who is declared to be God—is anointed "by another greater God," &c. False translation! The true rendering of ὑφ' ἑτέρου μείζονος Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κεχρισμένος ἐλαίῳ is, "being anointed with "oil by another [Person] who is greater, his God "and Father:" and it is not said in what respect the Father is greater, or in what capacity the Son was anointed.

As to the next quotation from Eusebius, he has taken the liberty to alter the text (as he did before with Hilary) without intimating any thing of it to his readers. The whole period is this,—Διόπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔχρισέ σε, ὦ Θεὲ, ὁ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μείζων αὐτὸς, ὁ καὶ σοῦ Θεὸς, ὡς εἶναι καὶ τὸν χριόμενον καὶ τὸν χριόντα (changed by our author into καὶ τοῦ χριομένου τὸν χριόντα) πολὺ πρότερον, πάντων μὲν ὄντα Θεὸν, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ διαφερόντως τοῦ

[g] Nam secundum id quod Verbum Dei homo erat, ex radice Jesse, et filius Abrahæ, secundum hoc requiescebat Spiritus super eum, et ungebatur ad evangelizandum humilibus, lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 185. ed. Ben.

[h] Dilectionis ergo merito ungitur oleo lætitiæ, id est anima Christi cum Verbo Dei unum efficitur. Ungi namque oleo lætitiæ, non aliud intelligitur quam Spiritu Sancto repleri,—Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. II. cap. v. sect. 4. p. 91. ed. Ben.

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χρισμένον[i]. This is the success of his appealing to the ancients; two of them witness against him, and the third, after much hacking and mauling, does not speak plainly up to his purpose. I will refer him now, *ex abundanti*, to Clemens Alexandrinus, who is also express for the unction being κατὰ σάρκα[k].

With regard to the 10th and following verses, *Thou, Lord, in the beginning*, &c. he is very confident that "the reason of the thing and all the an-"cients are on his side, in the application of the pas-"sage to God, the Father of Christ." P. 90. To apply the words to Christ, he pretends, is to make St. Paul contradict himself, who says, ver. 2. that *God made the worlds* (διὰ) *by his Son*, &c. But he shall hear Dr. Clarke; "These words, spoken of God "by the Psalmist, and applied thus to the Son by "the apostle, are a paraphrase of what he had said "above, ver. 2.[l]" What Dr. Clarke calls *a paraphrase*, this worthy gentleman calls *a contradiction*: and an interpretation which the doctor thought barely possible, he is very positive is the right one: "Un-"less possibly" (continues the doctor) "they be in-"tended as a description of the immutability of the "Father, for a confirmation and assurance of what "he had declared in ver. 8, 9." Every intelligent reader will perceive, that there is great reason to

[i] Dem. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 15. p. 181. ed. Paris. 1628. ed. Steph. Lut. 1545, p. 115.

[k] Καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς, ἅγιος τῶν ἁγίων, ἐλθὼν καὶ πληρώσας τὴν ὅρασιν, καὶ τὸν προφήτην, ἐχρίσθη τὴν σάρκα τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πνεύματι. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. p. 394.

[l] Scripture Doctrine, p. 96. third edit. That there really is no contradiction in this matter, see Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 183; Second Defence, p. 181; Sermons, p. 48, &c. 56, 57, 59, 66, 68, &c.

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speak thus diffidently of so harsh and unnatural an application. Socinians themselves are sensible of this, and therefore, applying the words to Christ, they endeavour to evade the force of them, as well as they can, by other methods [m]. Had not they, as well as our author, a turn to serve, they would both allow, that the words are by the apostle applied to Christ, and that therefore, in consequence of this application, Christ is properly Creator of heaven and earth. His truly frivolous pretences were obviated before by Dr. Waterland [n], whom he is so good as to give us leave to consult upon this occasion; so little to the advantage of his cause, that he will be cautious how he grants such liberty for the future. The reasoning, which he says is very like, has no likeness at all. How is our Saviour's promising *eternal life* to his disciples (John x. 28, 29.) very like the apostle's arguing for the dignity of our Saviour himself, and his superiority to the angels? for that is the question, and not the stability or continuance of his kingdom. Let us now examine his ancients, who

[m] Particula et initio vers. 10. posita, novum adferri docet scripturæ testimonium, quo Christum angelis præstare ostendat. *Schlichtingius et Crellius in loc.*

[n] Defence, p. 95. Compare Sermons, p. 63, 64, 65. The doctor also refers to Surenhusius, who makes the application to Christ appear exceeding plain, ver. 7. πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει, ver. 8. πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν, id est, λέγει quæ ibi sequuntur; et ver. 10. Καί· id est, Καὶ πάλιν λέγει, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν, (scilicet.) "Formula allegationis hic est Καὶ," &c. Βίβλος Καταλλαγῆς, p. 600. But to plain common sense, nothing can make the thing more evident than it is of itself, and nothing can mistake it but affected learning under the influence of real prejudice. See also bishop Bull, Judic. Eccles. cap. v. sect. 8. and Wolfius, Curæ Philolog. et Crit. in loc. p. 612. Dr. Knight's Sermons, p. 51, &c.

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are "all," he says, "on his side." He quotes Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. But what do these ancients say? that Heb. i. 10. is not applied by the apostle to Christ? No such thing. They consider not the words as quoted and applied in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore, strictly speaking, are not interpreters of Heb. i. 10. To be more particular; [o] Irenæus says nothing of the Father in particular, as opposed to the Son, but of the God of the Old Testament, which comprehends both Father and Son, according to Irenæus, in divers places [p]. Of both Irenæus and Tertullian he observes, that they understand the Son and Spirit to be the "hands of "God, by which," &c. But, were it his way ever to respond, he should have answered what Mr. Alexander has offered on that head, so far as it regards Irenæus [q]. God made the world *per semetipsum*, and *ipse a semetipso*, &c. So that if he made it by his hands, (the Son and Spirit,) it is because they are, in a sense, the *self* of the Father. Tertullian in like manner, though he understood Psalm cii. 25. of the Person of the Father, as there called *Lord*, yet he took in both the other Persons as reckoned to him, and included in him, under the name of *hands*; interpreting *hands* by *propriæ vires* of the Father, *valentia sua*, *intelligentia sua*, *sensus suus* [r]: which amounts to the same with Irenæus's interpreting *per manus suas* by *per semetipsum*.

[o] Lib. iv. cap. 3. p. 230. ed. Bened.

[p] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 304; Second Defence, p. 66, 78.

[q] Mr. Alexander's Essay on Irenæus, p. 27, 28. Compare Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 80, 81. 60, 66.

[r] Advers. Hermog. cap. 45.

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Origen [s], like the rest, quotes the words, not as part of the New Testament, where there is good reason to think he understood them to be applied to Christ; for in one of the places the course of his argument so applies them, in answer to what Celsus had pleaded against our Saviour's divinity. And as to Eusebius, nothing appears in his comment on that Psalm, to determine the sense to any particular Person in the Godhead more than to another, or exclusive of others. But in his Comment on Psalm xcii. (alias xciii.) he quotes part of Psalm cii. the whole 27th verse, and applies it directly to God the Son, p. 617.[t] He makes the same application, more obscurely, elsewhere, viz. p. 584. of the same Commentary. So I leave this writer to argue now against Eusebius, his great favourite. This instance shews us what little credit is to be given to this man's boastings of the ancients; they "are all," he says, "on his side:" and yet consider the words as they lie in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and he has not so much as one on his side. I shall but just take notice further, that Dr. Waterland has shewn [u] that Athanasius, Chrysostom, Pseudo-Justin, both Cyrils, Greg. Nyssen, Ambrose, and Austin, who considered the words as St. Paul's words, unanimously understood them of Christ; which is sure a consideration of some weight.

JOHN x. 30.

This text Dr. Waterland and all other catholic writers judge to favour their notion, that Father and Son are one God. But our author pretends,

[s] Contra Cels. lib. iv. p. 510. lib. vi. p. 679. Bened. edit.

[t] Collectio nova Patrum per Montfaucon, tom. i.

[u] Sermons, p. 65. See also Whitby on the place.

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that this invidious inference, drawn by the Jews, our Saviour confutes, ver. 34, 35, 36. It is scarce possible to maintain a due reverence for the holy Jesus and this imagination together. He was the humblest man on earth, and therefore, if he designed to confute this inference, he should and would have done it in the plainest terms, and rejected the imputation even with abhorrence. Instead of this, he confirms rather than confutes the Jews in their invidious inference; and therefore (ver. 39.) they are again enraged at him, and seek to *take him* [x].

All the unity which our author will allow in virtue of this text is an unity of concord and power; but I cannot but think that an unity of power must lead consistent men to believe an unity of nature and substance. And whether Chrysostom's inference, mentioned by Dr. Clarke [y], be an explication of this text, or not, it is with me a maxim of indisputable and almost self-evident truth, that, if the power be the same, it is manifest the essence must be so too. In truth, this writer seems no more to believe an unity of power than an unity of substance; for, continues he, "the same unity which "was between our Saviour and his Father, our "Lord prays may be in his disciples," &c. How are we to understand this? That the Father and Son have the same unity, the unity of power, only as the Father, Son, and disciples have it [z]. If his meaning be pertinent, this is it; and if this be it, it is effectually destroying the unity of power between

[x] See Defence, p. 54, 55.

[y] Scripture Doctrine, p. 107.

[z] See Defence, p. 364, 366, 367; Second Defence, p. 274.

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Father and Son; for have Father, Son, and disciples the same power? But be his meaning what it will, or none at all, it is needless for me to repeat the answers to his borrowed cavils, which it is kind in him indeed to revive once more, before they are finally hissed off the stage, and buried for ever. Neither shall I concern myself with his quotations from Tertullian [a], Origen [b], Hippolytus [c], Novatian [d], and Alexander [e] of Alexandria; but only desire my readers to remember the last article. What he says, "that the ancient church thought an unity of substance was capable of no other but a Sabellian sense," is false and ridiculous; when it is certain the catholics, in answer to Praxeans, Noetians, and Sabellians, did assert "unity of substance" cleared from Sabellian abuses [f].

[a] See Defence, p. 362, 364, 366; Second Defence, p. 97.

[b] Defence, p. 362, 365.

[c] Compare Defence, p. 363, 366. He has curtailed Hippolytus, —"The Son is one with the Father in power and concord."— Here he stopped; but Hippolytus adds, εἷς γὰρ νοῦς πατρὸς ὁ παῖς, "for the Son is the one mind of the Father."

[d] Defence, p. 362, 364.

[e] Defence, p. 363. From which, I suppose, he borrowed this passage of Alexander; for it was not offered, amongst the rest, in his Collection of Queries: so that we have here a notable instance of his fairness; instead of replying to what Dr. Waterland says, with regard to the other Fathers, he only picks up a distinct authority to make a show with on his own side of the question. Besides, in the translation, he takes a mean advantage of an unaccurate expression, in order to convey a false idea to the English reader. Alexander means no more by —τὰς τῇ ὑποστάσει δύο φύσεις, than we now do by two personal subsistences; which is the just rendering, though not so literal as our author's.

[f] See Defence, p. 351, 383, 385, 386.

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ROMANS ix. 5.

He here shews his good inclination to throw the word Θεὸς out of the text: but as all the manuscripts have it, he is forced to condescend to very low work. Some Latin manuscripts of Cyprian want it, "and it is doubtful whether Cyprian read it in "his copy or not." Good man, what a comfort it would be to him, if he could prove this strong testimony of our Saviour's divinity either spurious or interpolated! "The reason which Dr. Mill gives, that "Cyprian must have had it,—is not a good one." Very decisive, truly! But who is most to be credited, Dr. Mill or this writer? Dr. Mill, it seems, thinks that Cyprian and Tertullian followed the same translation of the scriptures; this writer says he has "carefully compared their citations," and "they did "not follow the same translation." Be this as it will, Dr. Mill offered stronger reasons from the agreement of ancient manuscripts, and from Cyprian's citing the text to prove that Christ is God. Why then does this gentleman dissemble what was most material? as an instance, I suppose, of his honesty, that we might take his word sooner than that of Dr. Mill. But he has not yet done with Dr. Mill; he corrects him for believing his own eyes rather than Ephræm's, the Syrian writer, concerning the word's being in the Syriac version. Ephræm twice cites the text, he says, and in both places omits the word Θεός. What then? the Syriac version has it, and Dr. Mill saw it there; and must Ephræm's citations make him judge otherwise than his own eyes convinced him? But our author, I suppose, would suggest, that the word was not in the version in Ephræm's time, for this reason, be-

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cause he twice cites the text without it. But, by his leave, his negative argument is a very poor one: Ephræm, in his prayers to Christ, twice addresses him thus; *who art over all, blessed for ever.* This can scarce be called properly a direct citation of the text; or, however, he might think it needless to say *God,* having so styled him before in the same prayers, or as thinking it sufficiently implied in what he did cite. But what fine work may people make with such negative arguments! Thus Woolston will prove that there was no such pool at Jerusalem as Bethesda, because Josephus does not mention it; and the atheist will even prove that there is no God, because he does not strike him dead with lightning. Still Dr. Mill is under his rod: for he "pretends "that Irenæus both read the word Θεὸς in the text, "and withal alleged it in proof of the divinity of "Christ:" which to be sure must incur our author's displeasure, and therefore it is—"a gross mistake." Irenæus cites the passage in proof of Christ's being the Immanuel of the Old Testament, and consequently in proof of his divinity: for there is but "one God of the Old and New Testament with" Irenæus, and this he sometimes expressly affirms to be our Lord Jesus Christ[g]. He must try his strength again then, before he can prove any interpolation in Irenæus, or any "gross mistake" in Dr. Mill, with relation to this article. He would next intimate, that the word Θεὸς has crept into the text in the Synodic Epistle of the Council of Antioch; or, however, if it was there then, that they applied it to God the Father. But all this is mere dream. They read Θεὸς,

[g] Lib. iii. cap. 16. p. 205. Compare lib. iv. cap. 13. and Mr Alexander's Essay, p. 55, 56.

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and they quoted the text on purpose to prove that the Son is Θεὸς; (which Paul of Samosata denied;) only afterwards they explain the words, *over all*, to mean over all creatures, to prevent mistakes. Nothing can be more false in one sense, or more impertinent and silly in another, than what he says of their "denying the supreme divinity of Christ, or "that *he is over all, God blessed*, in this very Epi- "stle." For whoever looks into the Epistle will see that their whole argument depends upon their applying this passage to the Son, in proof of his being *over all*, (creatures,) *God blessed:* not over the Father, to be sure, (they were not so ridiculous, neither are we,) but ἐπὶ πάντων γενητῶν[h]. This they affirm and insist upon; and is this any thing like "denying his supreme divinity?" Dr. Mill quotes Origen too as having the word Θεὸς in his comment upon the text; but his corrector blames him for putting upon us his interpreter Ruffinus in his stead. But does not Dr. Mill refer to another place of Origen besides that? and even this may be Origen's own, and probably is; notwithstanding the liberties which Ruffin sometimes took. These are his feeble attacks against the present reading of this passage, which is so glorious a proof of our Saviour's divinity, that it is no wonder he should level his little artillery against it, and pick up every cavil, though contemptible and frivolous to the last degree. What has he been contending for, and what have I been answering? should all he has offered be true, a sufficient answer is contained in a single *what then?* He cannot produce so much as one manuscript that

[h] Labb. Concil. tom. i. 845.

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wants the word θεὸς, yet he would gladly raise scruples in men's minds about the genuineness of it by such arguments as, if he be half the man he would pass for, he himself despises. I must own I have not words to express my detestation of such a wretched temper as he here discovers, and so must leave my readers to reflect on it in silence. Well, but admitting the present reading to be right, "the "words are of dubious construction." Not at all: and to compliment him with an allusion to his own way of arguing, (p. 17,) had it been said that Christ *was not God over all, blessed for ever*, "the text "with him would have been as clear as light." The words cannot without the greatest violence be understood of God the Father, as learned men have often shewn[1], and I will not always be repeating. The titles contained in them, *God over all*, or the *blessed God*, are not peculiar to the Father in contradistinction to Christ. No such opposition was intended in any of the places where these titles are attributed to the Father. And it is strange that he cannot be pronounced *blessed*, but I know not what innuendo against the Son must presently be suspected in it. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Novatian were not the only ancients who applied the words to Christ. As far as appears, they all did so[1], heretics and catholics, without exception; Praxeans, Noetians, Sabellians urged it strongly; and yet the catholics thought not of denying the application to Christ, (however pressed with it,) but admitted that application. And whenever they denied the title, *God over all*, of Christ, it was when it was under-

[1] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 221, &c.; Dr. Grabe's Instances of Defects, &c. against Whiston, p. 23, &c.

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stood and offered in a Sabellian or heretical sense admitting it all the while in a sound and just one. Clemens Romanus, he says, intimates, "that he did "not understand the words, *who is over*, &c. to be "spoken of Christ:" N. B. he intimates this by his silence, by quoting as much of the passage as was to his purpose, and not mentioning the rest. But enough of his negative arguments. That Clemens nowhere in his Epistle so much as styles Christ barely *God*, is very probably false report [l]; however, the reason he gives for it is exceeding ridiculous. To whom, pray, do τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ refer, but to τοῦ Θεοῦ in the same period? and did God the Father suffer? But what if Clemens did not style Christ *God*? his Epistle was not designed to assert or prove his divinity, a point which was then hardly brought into dispute. And much larger treatises than this Epistle of Clemens, wrote both by ancients and moderns of unquestionable orthodoxy, may be found, where Christ is not so much as barely styled *God*. Clemens generally styles Christ ὁ Κύριος; by no means a low or diminishing title, since the Seventy so style *Jehovah*, the God of Israel [m]. But supposing this report to be just, his reason is the merriest in the world. St. John had not then wrote his Gospel, and Clemens did not understand Rom. ix. 5. of Christ, and so not finding "that Christ was called *God* in "any part of scripture known to him, or then writ-"ten;" he did not know (we are left to suppose)

[l] See Answer to Whitby, p. 13, 22; Berriman's Historical Account, p. 41; Grabe's Annot. in Bulli F. N. D. p. 60.

[m] Quis τὸν Κύριον pro Domino Deo accipiendum putaret, nisi ita seniores locuti essent, quibus Κύριος erat ὁ ὤν? Pearson. Præf. Paræn. ad LXX.

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whether Christ was to be called *God*, or not. I desire the reader to turn to the place, (p. 97, 98,) or otherwise he will think I impose upon him, and misrepresent my author. What? a bishop of Rome, an apostolical writer, "who had conversed with and "been taught by St. Paul," (p. 98,) whose writings were once read in the Christian assemblies, so ignorant of this prime article of his religion, as not to know whether he should style Christ *God*, or not? Did not such men as Clemens understand the Christian faith before it was committed to writing? or were there not, before Clemens wrote his Epistle, some sacred writings extant in which Christ is styled *God?* Our author here dreams as usual: and I shall not interrupt his repose, by debating with him the antiquity of the Apostolic Constitutions, or the genuineness of the larger Epistles ascribed to Ignatius. It is sufficient to say, that the best and ablest judges are against him [n]. But it is a good presumptive argument in favour of our doctrine, that the opposers of it are forced to attempt a reform in the records that contain it; and can make no alteration in the one, without first changing the state of the other. Scriptures and Fathers must be brought to their tribunal, some *retained* and some *rejected*, contrary to the sentiments of all mankind besides; *genuine* shall be *spurious*, and *spurious* shall be *genuine;* and after all this learned legerdemain and hocus pocus, this trafficking and shuffling with texts and testimonies, they may perhaps be able (and then scarce able) to prove their point. The world sees now pretty clearly what they want, and they may as

[n] See Second Defence, p. 280, 281; Farther Defence, p. 92.

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well say plainly, once for all, Give us a new Bible and new Fathers, and we will dispute the matter with you. He cites some Fathers here as denying the Son to be *the God over all;* and in what sense they did so Eusebius would have taught him, had he but attended to his own quotations. It was what Sabellius dared to affirm, and for which he was esteemed by the church of God to be an atheist and blasphemer, that they intended to deny, viz. that Christ is the Father himself, or that Father and Son are the same Person. But Dr. Waterland has sufficiently answered for his Fathers, Origen[o], Irenæus[p], Eusebius[q], Cyprian[r]; and in such good hands I leave them, for our author to reply to at his leisure.

He proceeds now (p. 103.) to another set of texts, which, he says, "teach a doctrine directly opposite "to his (Dr. Waterland's) hypothesis." But if the former texts teach Dr. Waterland's doctrine, (and it has been often proved that they do,) no other texts of scripture can teach a doctrine "directly opposite" to it. However, let us hear him: he begins with Matth. xix. 17. *Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God.* But *one Person*, or else it won't serve our author's purpose. But the text says nothing of *Person*, since it might as well be rendered, *there is none good but God alone*[s]; not at all determining whether that God subsist in one Person or more. If there be two or more Per-

[o] Answer to Whitby, p. 23, 24.

[p] Second Defence, p. 65, 87, 88; Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 117.

[q] Second Defence, p. 28, 152, 186, 187.

[r] See Sermons, p. 141, 311; Second Defence, p. 143, 404; Importance, p. 345; Third Defence, p. 117

[s] Scripture Doctrine Vindicated, by Mr. Nelson's Friend, p. 2.

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sons in the Godhead, the second or third is not excluded from being *good* by this text, any more than the first. What if the Son derives his goodness (the Father only being the original, absolute, underived good, αὐτοαγαθόν)? if he has it derived, he has it: and the question is not whence he has it, but whether he has it at all. Indeed it is probable enough that our Saviour only spoke *ad hominem*, and corrected the querist for giving him a title peculiar to God, when he apprehended him to be only a man. "You give me a title which belongs to God alone: "do you therefore think there is something in me "more than human? or that the Father dwelleth "in me? This you ought to believe, if you conceive "that title truly to belong to me; since *there is but "one that is good; that is, God*[t]." Our author begins with saying, that "this text was understood by "all the ancients, as spoken of God the Father," &c. Be it so: and how did they understand it of the Father? so as to exclude the Son from being *good*? Yes, he will say, from being the original, supreme, underived good: that is, from being the Father himself. No wonder that they should exclude the Son from being *good* in this sense. However, this is not making him *good* only in some low and inferior sense, as he seems to intimate by saying that "the attribute of *goodness* cannot belong to the Son "in the same high and absolute sense in which it is "ascribed to the Father," &c. For it belongs to him in the same high sense, only not in the same high underived manner: which was all the Fathers meant. I am weary of examining his ancients, he

[t] Whitby on the place: see also Dr. Trapp's Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 109, 110.

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racks them so cruelly, and yet, after all, can force them to say so little to his purpose. He quotes Justin Martyr, as applying it to the Father: Dr. Whitby urged this before, and Dr. Waterland replied as follows;—"You should have added, as Justin does in the same place, that Christ was a "*worm, and no man, the scorn of men, and the* "*outcast of the people:* and then the reader would "have seen plainly what Justin was talking about[u]." This writer has not a word to rejoin. He quotes Clemens Alexandrinus; who is as express against him as any thing can possibly be, as appears by what Dr. Waterland has produced out of him: Clemens says, "the Father of all things is alone per-"fect; immediately adding, For in him is the Son, "and in the Son the Father." And in another place, "he observes, that no one is good, but the Father; "adding presently after, that the God of the uni-"verse is one only, good, just Creator, the Son in "the Father, to whom be glory[x]," &c. He takes no notice, is silent, replies not a syllable; but crawls on in his own way, as *deaf as the adder that stoppeth her ears*, and will not so much as hearken to those who would direct him better. And does he expect to be heard with attention, or answered with respect? Having thus, as he thinks, proved the Son to be inferior in *goodness*, he proceeds to another text, to shew that he is inferior in *knowledge*; viz. Matt. xxiv. 36. Here we might say, that the exclusive terms extend not to the Son, who is proved

[u] Answer to Whitby, p. 58, 59.

[x] Second Defence, p. 66, 67. For Origen, (whom he likewise quotes,) the reader may consult Second Defence, p. 45, 111; Farther Defence, p. 101.

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from other texts to be omniscient: but then he will argue from Mark xiii. 32. that the Son is excluded by name. The question then will be, in what capacity? as Son of God, or only as Son of man? Our author indeed sneers at this distinction, and calls it *absurd* and *Cerinthian*. But it is never the worse for that; with this distinction must stand or fall the Christian religion. We say then, and it has been proved, [y] that Christ is considered here only as to his human nature; with respect to his divine, both he and the Holy Ghost (who on the other supposition would in all probability have been mentioned after the angels) know all things. His rendering οὐδεὶς, *no person*, will stand him in no stead: he makes the terms *being* and *person* all along equivalent; and if he be in the right in so doing, there is no manner of difference by which of them οὐδεὶς is translated. But the church has agreed to call those *persons* whom she will not allow to be called *beings*; and in her sense of the word *person*, *no person* is a wrong translation of οὐδεὶς in this place, which has no concern at all with personality, and is only intended to exclude what we call other *beings*, that is, persons entirely separate and divided. But the knowledge of the day of judgment, he says, was revealed to Christ "after his exaltation," &c. "The Book of the Revelation is therefore call-"ed, *the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God* "*gave unto him*, chap. i. 1. And what had been "obscurely revealed to Daniel was more fully and "clearly revealed to Christ, as the reward of his

[y] See Dr. Waterland's Sermons, p. 268, &c.; Second Defence, p. 234, &c.; Dr. Trapp's Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 113, &c.

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"sufferings and redemption of us. Rev. v. 1—9." Now if he would give us leave to make use of that absurd Cerinthian distinction, this comment might do; but otherwise there is not a word of truth in it. The truth is this; in respect of Christ's mediatorial capacity the revelation is given by God to Christ, to be communicated by Christ to the church. All things are transmitted from God the Father through Christ to man; and man through Christ ascends up to God the Father. The text therefore is not expressive of our Lord's illumination, but of the method or order of ours. "That the ancients under-"stood the Son in the text to be Christ in his high-"est capacity," he will prove, he says, from Irenæus and Origen. The question is, did they understand him to be ignorant in his highest capacity? Will he prove the affirmative of that from Irenæus and Origen? No; but he will bring some stale things out of them, dissembling and concealing, as usual, what has been replied[z]. And "to shew how low he can "descend in reason and argument," he quotes a scrap out of Dr. Waterland's First Defence, without taking the least notice of what the doctor says in his Second, in answer to the very cavil which he is here trumping up again[a]. Dr. Waterland did allege and prove that the ancients taught, that Father and Son are equal in knowledge[b]; and yet, he cries, this would have been saying something; as if it was not said. He repeats a passage of Basil, and

[z] See Defence, p. 104, &c.; Second Defence, p. 235, &c.; and Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 129, &c. For Irenæus, and for Origen, Defence, p. 111; Second Defence, p. 239.

[a] Compare Defence, p. 106; and Second Defence, p. 236, 238.

[b] Defence, p. 109—112.

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gives a false turn to it by ill rendering [c]; and then concludes this article with a most romantic assertion, that "the moderate Athanasians themselves "did not teach that the Son was equal to the Father "in absolute divine perfections," &c. but what he means by "moderate Athanasians," and by "absolute "divine perfections," is hard to determine: he has very likely some evasion in one of those expressions.

The next text which he considers is John xiv. 28. *My Father is greater than I.* A text which, he pretends, somebody "should blush to read;" but he ought to blush first for misrepresenting them, as maintaining that the Father is not, in any respect, greater than the Son: whereas they really tell him of two or three respects in which the Father is *greater:* greater in respect of natural order, and greater in respect of economical office; not to branch the matter here into any further particulars. That the Father is greater than Christ only as to his human nature [d], is an interpretation which he derides as "low and mean;" but he may please to vindicate his own, in some degree, from the same imputation. Be Christ as exalted a being as they please, yet while they make him a being different from the one true God, and even created by him, to affirm that *God is greater*, will be true indeed, but no great thing to say: God is infinitely greater, and

[c] For Basil, see Defence, p. 108; Second Defence, p. 237.

[d] It is evident from the context, that Christ is speaking of his ascension into heaven, where as God he always is, and to which therefore he ascended only as man; and consequently this "low "and mean" interpretation may be the right one of this passage, and was understood to be so by several of the Fathers. See An Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston, &c. p. 56.

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must be so, than any thing he can make[e]. Whereas, on the orthodox scheme, it is a great thing, and worthy of the wisdom from which it proceeded; as it reserves to the Father the sole privilege of being unbegotten and unoriginate, and maintains and establishes the filiation and proper subordination of the Son. And therefore our Saviour does not say absolutely, *God is greater than I*, but *my Father*, &c. He repeats some things out of Justin Martyr[f], Irenæus[g], Tertullian[h], Origen[i], and others[k]; which the reader will find adjusted in the references, and which this writer should have replied to. What he says bishop Bull has confessed, Dr. Waterland often confesses likewise; viz. that the Son, as God, is less than the Father; less in respect of order, not nature: upon which account the doctor scruples not

[e] See a Dissertation on Matter and Spirit, by Mr. Jackson; where (p. 55, 56.) he says, "The true reason why the supreme "self-existent God cannot be incarnate, or united to any mate- "rial body, is the essential infinity of his nature, whereby he is ne- "cessarily present to all things equally;"—But "the existence "of the intelligent part of all created beings," (N. B. such he makes Christ to be,) "united to matter, is determined and cir- "cumscribed by it: and therefore probably no created" (Christ himself, upon his principles) "agent hath much extension." If this philosophy, or divinity, be true, it is, as I observed above, no great thing for Christ to say, *My Father*, &c.

[f] Answer to Whitby, p. 41, 55, 57.

[g] Second Defence, p. 66, 78—88; see also Alexander's Essay, p. 178.

[h] Compare Second Defence, p. 204, 98, 100, 103, 104.

[i] See the general account of Origen, Second Defence, p. 347, &c.; Third Defence, p. 116.

[k] As Dionysius of Alexandria, concerning whom see Third Defence, p. 118; and Theognostus, see ibid. p. 121; Sirmian council, Second Defence, p. 296, 318.

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to confess likewise, that the Son is *greater* than the Holy Spirit[l]. He blunders on (in p. 115.) and joins two texts as parallel; one of which gives the title of *only true God* to the Father, as is plain, and acknowledged also by the ancients; while the other as plainly gives the title *of true God* to the Son, acknowledged also by the ancients universally. And as they did not understand the Son, in one, exclusive of the Father, or in opposition to him; so neither did they understand the other of the Father exclusive of the Son, or in opposition to him. As to John xvii. 3. nobody can doubt of the title of *only true God* being applied to the Father: and there needs no authority of Ante-Nicenes or Post-Nicenes for such application. All the question is about the inference, or consequence, which Arians draw from it. Let this writer shew that any of the Fathers hereupon excluded the Son from the one true Godhead: that he has not, nor ever can shew. For the Post-Nicenes, let Hilary answer[m]; and the sense of Ante-Nicenes may be judged of from Novatian[n]. What he produces is wide and foreign to his pur-

[l] Sermons, p. 191; Crit. Hist. of the Athanasian Creed, p. 260. second edition.

[m] Debitus Patri a Filio honor redditur, cum dicit, *te solum verum Deum:* non tamen se Filius a Dei veritate secernit, cum adjungit, *et quem misisti Jesum Christum.* Non habet intervallum confessio credentium, quia in utroque spes vitæ est: nec Deus verus ab eo deficit qui in conjunctione succedit—non Patris et Filii veritas et divinitas sub aliqua aut significationis aut dilationis diversitate discernitur, sed ad gignentis et geniti confessionem fides religionis instituitur. *Trin.* lib. iii. p. 815.

[n] Si noluisset se etiam Deum intelligi, cur addidit, *et quem misisti Jesum Christum,* nisi quoniam et Deum accipi voluit? See Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 8, 9.

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pose; not comments on John xvii. 3. And Dr. Waterland has [o] proved that the other text, 1 John v. 20. is to be applied to Christ, and that the ancients so apply it. In page 120th, he proceeds to another exhausted topic, that of *worship;* and tells us that Luke xi. 2. John xvi. 23. and 1 Tim. ii. 5. "instruct "us in the object of Christian worship;" that "the "Father is the alone supreme and ultimate object "of our adoration and prayer." Are there then two objects of worship? or is Christ not to be worshipped at all? the latter, one would think, from his saying that the "scriptures never direct us to "pray to Christ,"—that "the command of Christ, "and the practice of his apostles, concur in the offer-"ing up all prayer and religious worship to the Fa-"ther," &c. Then there is none to be offered to Christ according to this man; against whom consequently the very Socinians will reclaim, and not own him to be a Christian [p]. As to what he says "of the prac-"tice of the apostles," it is notoriously false [q]; and if their practice be any rule or direction to us, we are obliged to worship Christ; and if he is to be worshipped, he is one with the Father, to make the object one; and a creature cannot be a proper object. Yes, he can, says our author in effect; the worship of Christ "is founded, not on his divine nature or "essence, but on his becoming man," &c. Impious

[o] Sermons, p. 206, &c.; Second Defence, p. 50, 56, 58; Importance, p. 271.

N. B. For what he says of Athanasius, see Thirlby's Answer to Whiston, p. 44, 45; and Defence of the Answer, p. 81, &c.; Dr. Waterland's Defence, p. 427; Second Defence, p. 490.

[p] See Remarks on Clarke's Catechism, p. 22.

[q] Ibid. p. 11, 12.

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onsense! and can tend to nothing but to make men magine, that all that Christ did in the work of our edemption was only to promote his own honour and dvancement[r]. However, if any man wants to see uch sort of divinity solidly confuted, he may please o consult the references[s]. He will there see a full nswer to what this author talks about Man, and Mediator, and Judge, and worship given by command; all illogical and absurd; and overthrown by one single distinction between the foundation, and the moving reasons of worship.

"The ancient book, entitled the Apostolical Con-"stitutions," is of very little authority in this controversy; and yet it has prayers and doxologies directed to Christ[t]. Polycarp glorifies God, through Christ, as the eternal High Priest; and he concludes the doxology with ascribing glory to God *with* Christ, as well as *through* him[u]. The man seems not to know what makes for his cause, and what against it. Justin Martyr's principle is[x], that "God alone is to be worshipped;" and yet he declares, "we worship Father, Son, and the prophetic Spirit:" yes, but by command. What then? we are commanded to worship the Father himself; besides, we should

[r] Agreeably to which the Dissertation on Matter, &c. says, "that the union of a material body"—was "capable of adding "increase of glory and happiness to that Being, who, before he "took it, was in the *form of God.*" p. 51, 52.

[s] First and Second Defence, Qu. xvi. xvii.; Sermons, preface, and p. 176; Remarks, &c. p. 10, 11, &c.

[t] See Remarks on Clarke's Catechism, p. 16, 17, 18; Second Defence, p. 408. second edit. alias 403.

[u] Answer to Whitby, p. 47, 48; Second Defence, p. 403.

[x] Defence, p. 256; Sermons, p. 299, 300; Second Defence, p. 386, 394.

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never have worshipped a person by command, who had not an antecedent right to our worship in reason and nature. The passage in Melito is this: Οὐκ ἐσμὲν λίθων οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν ἐχόντων θεραπευταὶ, ἀλλὰ μόνου Θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ πάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὄντως Θεοῦ λόγου πρὸ αἰώνων, ἐσμὲν θρησκευταί [y]. "We are not worshippers of senseless stones; but "we are the worshippers of the only God, who is "before all, and above all, and also of his Christ, "who is truly God the Word before ages: [from "eternity."] I must acquaint the reader, that ἔτι is a conjectural emendation, but a very just and necessary one; as may be seen in the author referred to [y]. It is plain that the passage wants some amendment, and accordingly writers on both sides the question have attempted to make some. Samuel Crellius (under the name of Artemonius) inserts οὐ before the words ἐσμὲν θρησκευταὶ, but without any authority, or any advantage to the text. Dr. Grabe drops the word ἐπὶ, but Wesseling changes it into (what it was probably written at first) ἔτι. "Cum ergo," says he, "sole clarius dilucescat illud οὐ e libris exulare, "et oratio hiulca videatur, quis dubitabit, quin fu- "erit a Melitone scriptum, καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ. "Hoc si recipiatur, omnia optime decurrent." It is an easy thing for the librarians to mistake a letter, and write a π for a τ, and he gives instances of such mistakes. But it is very improbable that Melito should go contrary to other ancient apologists, who both call Christ *God*, and mention him as the object of Christian worship; especially since we are told by

[y] See Wesseling. Probabilium Liber, cap. x. p. 83, &c. Franequeræ, 1731. Compare Grabe's notes upon bishop Bull's D. F. N. p. 86.

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one in Eusebius, that he, as well as Irenæus, was one of those who in their writings *Christum Deum simul atque hominem prædicarunt.* But to return to the Country Clergyman, who has strangely murdered this passage, by leaving out the four last words, lest his readers should see plainly from Melito that Christ ought to be worshipped: we worship the "only God," says he, "who is before all, and above "all, even above Christ himself, who is truly God "the Word." Dexterously done! to exclude Christ from worship, by virtue of a passage which expressly includes him in the object of it. Irenæus calls upon the Father, "the only true God, through Jesus "Christ." What news he tells us! Why, Irenæus was a Christian: only he teaches that Jesus Christ is to be invocated himself[a], and not merely the Father through him; which perhaps may discredit him with some people. Clemens Alexandrinus says, "God the Word joins with us in hymns of praise; "and Jesus, the one eternal High Priest of the one "God the Father, prays for men." News again! But does not Clemens also call the Son "truly God[b]," and "only God," &c. and is he not express for worshipping him? There is no difficulty in these different representations of Clemens's doctrine upon catholic principles; let our author reconcile them upon his, when he is able. The passage which he brings from Origen's book against Celsus has been cleared by Dr. Waterland[c]. And as for the other

[a] Defence, p. 249, 258, 272; Second Defence, p. 388, 396; Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 118.

[b] See Defence, p. 249, 257; Second Defence, p. 89—96, 387.

[c] Second Defence, p. 399, 400; see also First Defence, p. 250, 258; Second Defence, p. 69, 109, 388, 396; Remarks on Clarke's Catechism, p. 13.

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out of the book concerning prayer, supposing it really to be Origen's, it must be of small account, because contradicted in a certainly genuine piece which contains Origen's last and maturest thoughts[d]. To crown the whole, he cites Eusebius; which is almost as pertinently done of him, as if the orthodox were to confute him out of Athanasius. However, Eusebius never intended to exclude the Son from being *only God*[e], or from being worshipped[f]. From the premises he draws a conclusion entirely worthy of his own great learning and logic, that the Father only is to be worshipped in the highest, strict, and proper sense, &c. the Son in some mediate and subordinate sense, and the Holy Ghost in no sense at all: and this senseless account would he palm upon us for the doctrine of the ancient church[g].

He has two texts more to consider, before he concludes his Treatise, as he calls it, viz. Prov. viii. 22. Coloss. i. 15. The first of these texts now must be meant of Christ the Son of God, though a certain Country Clergyman once told us, that "most pro-"bably it is not meant of Wisdom the Person[h]," the Λόγος, but of "wisdom the attribute of God," σοφία. But he was then arguing against the eternal generation, which this passage, in its application to Christ, might be thought to favour; and therefore it was not to be so applied: but now he wants to prove Christ a creature, to which purpose he judges this text may be useful, and therefore it shall be so ap-

[d] Second Defence, p. 402. [e] See ibid. p. 159.

[f] Ibid. p. 411. Compare p. 153.

[g] Which how false it is, see Sermons, p. 191, 299, 300, &c.; Remarks on Clarke's Catechism, p. 11, 12; Bingham's Antiq. book xiii. chap. ii. sect. 4. p. 62, &c. 8vo. edit.

[h] Collection of Queries, p. 82.

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plied. This looks as if, when he has an hypothesis to serve, he will never want a pretence to support it. But whether he will please to allow us to understand it of Wisdom the Person, or wisdom the attribute, as neither of them really was created, so no such creation can be proved from this passage. Most of the versions, and the best critics, confirm the translation which is given in our common Bibles, *The Lord possessed*, &c.; and I do not know any thing that ought to recommend it more, unless it be this gentleman's disapprobation. The present reading in the LXX. may possibly be a corrupt one[i]; or, however, supposing it genuine, there is no reason to believe that they (or the Fathers who used the same sort of expression after them) intended it in the sense which we now affix to the word *created;* but rather in the sense of constituting, or appointing[k], which is the sense given by Eusebius himself[l]. All this he has often heard before; yet he is neither willing to assent, nor able to answer. With reference to the other text, Coloss. i. 15.[m] Isidore, an Athanasian, "owns that the word "πρωτότοκος signifies the same as πρωτόκτιστος:" an argument, by which we must, to be sure, be absolutely determined. But leaving him in full possession of his Isidore, he romances most abominably in the next paragraph; where he says, that "the an-

[i] Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 171.

[k] Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 341; Answer to Whitby, p. 33, 34.

[l] Second Defence, p. 352, 353; Mr. Alexander's Essay, p. 179, 180.

[m] For the just sense of this text, see Sermons, p. 58, 153; Second Defence, p. 276.

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" cients, understanding the two preceding texts, in " their plain and obvious sense, to teach that Christ, " the Word and Wisdom of God, was created, never " scrupled to affirm and profess that he was a crea- " ture." And truly, if the ancients were so frank and liberal of such affirmations and professions, I scruple not to affirm and profess, that this man is a very poor writer not to produce better testimonies out of them. But I believe he is not to be blamed in this case: he brought as good as he could find; which are not so much affirmations and professions of the ancients, as suspicions, aspersions, and scandals, raised and cast upon them, and which, too, have often been cleared up and confuted. But to be more particular; " The Apostolical Constitutions style the " Son, that *Wisdom which God created.*" They do so; however, I find that, in another place, they expressly declare that the Son was " begotten, not cre- " ated [n]." Either, therefore, let their evidence be set aside as inconsistent and null, or rather, let what they say in allusion to the Septuagint Version of Prov. viii. 22. be interpreted conformably to their own plain words. He tells us from Dr. Cave, that " Me- " lito wrote a treatise concerning the Creation of " Christ:" and in what sense this is to be understood, Dr. Cave's own words would have informed him [o]. Not to mention here that this treatise of Melito's has another title in Eusebius [p], it is very

[n] Γεννηθέντα, οὐ κτισθέντα, lib. vii. cap. 42; Labb. Con. tom. i. p. 447.

[o] Περὶ πίστεως, *de fide* (quidam codices legunt Περὶ κτίσεως, *de creatione*) *et generatione Christi*, respectu proculdubio habito ad illud, Prov. viii. 22. Κύριος ἔκτισέ με κ. τ. λ. Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 43.

[p] Περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 26.

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well known that the ancients meant no more by the *creation*, than the orthodox do now by the *generation* of Christ [q]. One would think by what he says of Tertullian, that that Father was making a direct comparison between "the only begotten Word (the "Son)" and the Father, with a professed design to shew that the Father is prior, more powerful, and mightier than the Son. But Tertullian is there pursuing a very different argument. Hermogenes, against whom he writes, "asserted matter to be eter-"nal, unmade, and unbegotten; in short, self-ex-"istent in the highest sense. Tertullian thought it "might be an argument, *ad hominem*, against Her-"mogenes, that he hereby made matter, in some "sense, higher than even God the Son; while he "supposed it absolutely underived, and in no sense "derived, or begotten at all; which was more than "could be said of God the Son, who was begotten, "and proceeded of the Father[r]." What if Tertullian, in this case, instead of *generated*, or the like, used the word *made*? Correcter and more cautious writers than Tertullian, in the heat of dispute, sometimes make use of unwary expressions. If he could baffle and silence his adversary by this argument, he had his end [s]; he would not answer for the justness

[q] Antiqui Patres qui ante concilium Nicænum vixere, per vocabulum κτίσεως, non eam solum creationem quæ ex nihilo fit, sed omne genus productionis intellexerunt, ipsamque adeo generationem Verbi. Itaque id quod in Proverbiis legitur, *Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum*, de generatione illa æterna exposuerunt; itemque illud apostoli, *Primogenitus omnis creaturæ*. Valesius in Eusebii loc. supra citatum.

[r] Second Defence, p. 104.

[s] Bull, D. F. N. p. 235. See the greatest part of that (tenth) chapter.

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of it any further, or be willing to have his faith and religious opinions tried by it. It is certain, from other places in his works, that he held God the Son, as well as God the Father, to be eternal and immutable[t]; and, in short, that both, with the Holy Ghost, are the one God. Nay, even in this very chapter[u], he supposes that though matter was not, yet the Λόγος, or *Wisdom*, was always in and with the Father. Clemens Alexandrinus has been considered before; he alludes to that text in the Proverbs, which all the Fathers allude to, who speak at any time after the same manner. But speaking of Wisdom, as being appointed Head over the works of God[x], is not making the Son a creature. Origen has been misunderstood, and hardly used; and this author, it seems, is resolved that he shall still suffer the same treatment, though he has been sufficiently vindicated[y]. In the same manner, and to the same purpose, he rakes up all the dirt that has been thrown at Dionysius of Alexandria[z], Gregory Thaumaturgus[a], and Theognostus of [b]Alexandria[c]; hoping

[t] Second Defence, p. 103. concerning Tertullian, see from p. 97. to 105.

[u] Advers. Hermog. cap. 18. [x] Second Defence, p. 95.

[y] See Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 347—352; Dr. Berriman's third Sermon.

[z] See Sermons, p. 314; Second Defence, pref. p. x. p. 46, 346; Third Defence, p. 118, 119.

[a] See First Defence, p. 418; Second Defence, pref. p. x.; Third Defence, p. 120.

[b] See Bull, D. F. Nicæn. p. 135; Dr. Waterland's Third Defence, p. 121.

[c] These, as our author observes, were "scholars and followers of "Origen;" and therefore, it is a good presumption, were as orthodox as Origen himself has been proved to be. But then, again,

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and endeavouring by all means, that some at last may stick. "Pierius, another eminent scholar of "Origen, taught the same doctrine." What doctrine is that? "That the Son and Spirit were crea-"tures of the Father." Does Photius, whom he brings as his voucher, say any such thing? expressly the contrary; that his sentiments, with respect to the Father and the Son were pious[d]; only he used the terms οὐσίας and φύσεις, (*substances* and *natures*,) ἀντὶ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, (for *hypostasis*, or *person*.) But concerning the Spirit (this is the passage quoted by our author) he dogmatized dangerously; for he said, that he was excelled in glory by the Father and Son[e]. Photius does not say that he absolutely made the Spirit a creature; much less that he taught Son and Spirit both to be creatures of the Father. If Eusebius calls the Son "the perfect "creature," &c. he grew wiser afterwards, and contradicted it[f]; and if he affirmed it to be the doctrine of the catholic church, that "the Holy Spirit "was made by the Son," he was as much mistaken as ever man was. But why does this poor man disturb the ashes of the dead, rather than suffer one error of the ancients to sleep with them? Alex-

this very relation to Origen might be the reason of their being suspected and misrepresented by such men as Epiphanius, Jerom, and Photius; who are known to have been in this case prejudiced (and not what this writer calls them, *unexceptionable*) witnesses.

[d] Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ εὐσεβῶς φρονεῖ. Photii Bibl. p. 300. Rothomagi.

[e] Περὶ μέν του τοῦ πνεύματος κ. τ. λ. ὑποβεβηκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀποφάσκει δόξης. Photii Bibl. p. 300. Rothomagi, 1653.

[f] Second Defence, p. 156, 338.

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ander[5] of Alexandria has been shewn to be in the catholic hypothesis; and let his own words contain his faith, being of more weight than his false accuser's. This is what he has been able to produce from the ancients, in order to prove that they "never scrupled to affirm and profess that he (the "Word and Wisdom of God) was a creature." How miserably he has failed is so very visible, that there is no further need of words to shew it. These affirmations and professions are dwindled away into suspicions, misrepresentations, or allusions to the wrong translation of the Seventy of Prov. viii. 22. But had the ancients really been in his sentiments, it is strange that they should not abound with such affirmations and professions as well as he does. He had not then been forced to glean and pick up scandal for want of better evidence, but would confront us with their own plain assertions, that "the Son and "Spirit are creatures." But, as he wisely observes, (and what use the observation is of to his cause, I cannot see,) they "would not diminish him (our "blessed Saviour) by using expressions in any de-"gree lower, than what they thought were war-"ranted by scripture." And, pray, where are they "warranted by scripture" to call him *a creature?* it is in vain therefore, by his own argument, to expect any such affirmations or professions from them.

Nothing remains now but his conclusion; where he tells his reader, (and no reader would have discovered it without being told,) that he has "laid be-"fore him the unanimous sense of the ancient church

[5] See Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 47, 294; Third Defence, p. 123.

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" with the utmost sincerity and care." I have given some instances of his " sincerity and care;" but not to burden the reader's memory too much, I desire him at present only to remember Pierius. He has shewn too, he says, that Dr. Waterland's doctrine " is a merely fictitious doctrine, directly repugnant " to the catholic doctrine," &c. Yes, just as Zeno shewed there was no motion; and Anaxagoras, that snow is not white; and Cardan, that man is not an animal; and Woolston, that scripture relates no real miracles; and a learned modern philosopher, that there is a last number, neither even nor odd. This " fictitious doctrine of Dr. Waterland's," he allows, however, to be as old as the " fourth century;" when it was " propagated by the superstitious wor- " shippers of relics and saints." This piece of history, it seems, is of the visionary kind; built upon Daniel and the Revelations by Mr. Whiston and sir Isaac Newton, and implicitly swallowed by this writer. It falls out unfortunately for them, that Constantius, (the Arian emperor,) about the year 356, began the practice of translating relics into the new-built churches: therefore let not the Athanasians bear all the burden, nor the first blame. But what this little coincidence (if all were true that is pretended) has to do with the question, I see not: but most of it is mere dream; nor did the worship of saints commence till long after. Arians first paved the way to it by creature-worship: and they defended it by such distinctions as the papists do theirs. The man of sin grew up with Arianism, and helped to usher in those devouring locusts, both Mahometism and Popery. The professors of the latter were prepared for the worst part of their corruptions, their idolatry,

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by the idolatry of the Arians; and proselytes were more easily gained to the former, when they had been previously instructed that Christ was but a creature; and consequently that it was not impossible but that God might send a greater than he. But it is the way of this writer to charge upon others falsely, what his own party have been manifestly guilty of. Thus, for instance, the charge of ecclesiastical tyranny recoils strongly upon the head of his friends the Arians; who have been as great tyrants and persecutors as ever lived upon the face of the earth, pagans before, and papists after them not excepted. So again, what he intimates of the catholic doctrine's being borrowed and derived from the Valentinians, is true of his own heresy. For it is a plain case, that the Valentinians were forerunners of the Arians in some of their distinguishing tenets, as Athanasius observed long ago [h]. He tells us from Origen, that there were heretics who dared to affirm two Gods; "such," adds he, "were the "Marcionites:" particularly (as he has been informed before) Apelles of that tribe; who introduced a second God, and a created and inferior God [i]; and, so far, the Arians copied after him. So far, this tritheist or ditheist copies after him himself; who will not be content with one God; but will have a great God and a little God; or one supreme God, and other inferior gods, like the pagans. But I have done with him: he only goes on to misrepresent and calumniate both the catholic doctrine and its advocates in such a manner, as to deserve an answer

[h] See Dr. Waterland's Second Defence, p. 309, 310; Bull, D. F. N. sect. iii. c. 1. p. 186.

[i] Second Defence, p. 310; Philastr. Hær. xlvii. p. 98, 99.

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which no private person is authorized to give. This would not be to discourage and quash truth by human authority, but to censure most flagrant heresy, propagated with rage and rudeness, by those who have their *power from above*. He is, I think, the properer object of the authority here intended, because (in page 24.) he sounds the trumpet to his brethren "to unite, in order to abolish and destroy "all ecclesiastical authority, usurping dominion over "their faith and consciences:" threatening language, and betraying more of a spirit of faction and sedition, than of Christian liberty or modesty.

Rode, caper, vitem, tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.

However, this concerns not Dr. Waterland at all, who pleads for no human authority; but merely for an act of obedience to God, viz. "renouncing com-"munion with heretics." This is maintaining the truth, discharging an upright conscience, and instructing true and faithful Christians what to think, and how to behave in a very important point of conduct. Whether our author will at last sit down in shame and silence, (though he seems to me to think them the same thing,) I am not at all solicitous to know. In all appearance, the symptoms of the cacoethes are so strong upon him, that he will still persist to expose his credit and his cause. He has indeed this felicity above most men, that he has very near done his worst towards both, and has almost obtained the privilege of saying what he will, without any danger of injuring either. And upon this account, as I take it, he has no reason to be angry with the author of these observations, who is very probably the last person who will be idle

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enough to pay him the civility of a public answer. Having thus made my court to him, by reminding him of this small obligation, I have, in conclusion, a small favour to beg of him, which it will be no trouble to him to grant: and that is, that if he determines to proceed in the same argument, he would prosecute it by the same means, and continue to write in the same manner;—with the same violence and blindness of passion, the same virulence of language, the same utter disregard of decency and truth. Go on, great genius, thus to write for your cause, till you have wrote it down;—till your reputation as an author, which (since you have been left unsupported) you have been so generous as to shew you had no right to, be entirely lost;—till you have neither friend nor adversary left; the one being ashamed to own your acquaintance, and the other despising you as below notice.

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POSTSCRIPT.

IN turning over our author's pages, I omitted to take notice of his misrepresentation of Dr. Waterland, (p. 17,) with respect to 2 Cor. i. 24. *Not for that we have dominion over your faith*, &c. Here he tells us that the doctor says, "the text is of ob-"scure meaning; and pretends as if he knew not "what to make of it." The doctor says, (p. 200. of the Importance,) that "the phrase of *having do-"minion* over one's *faith*, though a scripture phrase, "is of obscure meaning." Where is the hurt of this? numberless scripture phrases are very obscure; else, the labours of numberless learned men have been very ill employed. But this writer will say, the hurt of it is, that it is false; "for the sense of the "text," says he, "is plain enough." That the sense of the text is not so very *plain*, but rather very *obscure*, I shall now shew him, by giving the various interpretations of some of the best commentators upon the place; which it will be hard to account for, without allowing the phrase to be of obscure meaning. I will begin with Erasmus: "Vide num "hic sensus accipi possit, *Dominamur vobis propter "fidem*, vel *fidei gratia*, ut more Græcorum sub-"audiatur, ἕνεκα. Græca sic habent, Οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν "ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως. Atque ut ita sentiam, facit arti-"culus post ὑμῶν positus; alioqui magis conveniebat "τῆς ὑμῶν πίστεως. Licet Chrysostomus nihil offenda-"tur articulo. Hæc autem dicit, quod ante dixerat

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" *parcens*, velut alioqui sæviturus. Non est autem " *dominium*, nisi cum peccatum est alicubi: sed in " fide nondum peccarant, qua firmi stabant; libi- " dine, contentione, dissidiisque peccarant: id igitur " verbi mitigat hac ratione. In hanc sententiam " Chrysostomus. Theophylactus, in cæteris mecum " faciens, de transposito articulo nullum movet scru- " pulum: quanquam et alter sensus probe habet, " *Fides libera est, dominium necessitatis est*, ut in- " terpretatur Ambrosius. Hæc animadvertenda no- " bis, qui fidei ac religionis titulo ad tyrannidem " abutimur. Nec alio fortassis studio quidam cupi- " mus orbem redigi ad professionem Christi, quam " ut ipsi latius regnemus. Qui subigunt Turcas, ne " spectent dominium aut prædam [a].—Quod si ad " vos non veni, non certo promiseram, et non veni- " endi justa causa fuit. Id enim feci, ut vobis parce- " rem. Nam si venissem, cum virga venissem; (ut in " priore epistola minatus sum;) hoc est, vos gravius " propter illud incesti flagitium castigassem. Dicet " quis: Ergone nos tam parvæ fiduciæ et constantiæ " esse putas, ut tuam præsentis castigationem ferre " nequeamus? Ego vero non puto. Scio enim, vos in " fiducia constantes esse: nec eam vobis derogo, sed " gaudii vestri rationem habeo. Nam si vos præsens " castigassem, ea res vobis (ut de me taceam) dolo- " rem fecisset, qui dolor nunc aberit. Κυριεύειν au- " tem, quod *derogare* vertimus, est non solum *domi-* " *num esse*, sed etiam *dominum fieri et potiri*: sicut " ante de βασιλεύειν scripsimus: ut sit κυριεύειν τῆς " πίστεως, *dominum se facere fiduciæ alterius*: hoc " est, alteri fiduciam et robur detrahere, et esse ne- " gare." Castellio:—" Ostendisset Paulus se velle

[a] Critici Sacri in loc.

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" dominari Corinthiis fidei nomine, si suo jure exe-
" gisset ab illis alimenta et vestes[b]." Vatablus: " Est
" ἀνθυποφορά. Videbatur enim imperiose dixisse *non*
" *parcens:* itaque removet a se hanc suspicionem.
" Nihil volumus a vobis credi nisi quæ Christus præ-
" cepit. Si quid pro nostro libitu imponeremus, hoc
" esset *dominatum exercere in fidem*, ut hic, *in po-*
" *pulum peculiarem* Deo, ut 1 Pet. v. 3.[b]" Grotius:
—" Est autem *dominari*, præesse cum ostentatione
" potestatis, eaque abuti ad privata commoda: quod
" non solum a prælatis ecclesiasticis abesse debet,
" verum etiam a secularibus[c]." Our own commentators, Hammond and Whitby, give different interpretations of the place; the same in effect with the first and last above recited. Mr. Locke is different from them all:—" Not that I pretend to such a do-
" minion over your faith, as to require you to be-
" lieve what I have taught you, without coming to
" you, when I am expected, there to maintain and
" make it good; for it is by that faith you stand;
" but I forbore to come as one concerned to pre-
" serve and help forwards your joy, which I am ten-
" der of, and therefore declined coming to you,
" whilst I thought you in an estate that would re-
" quire severity from me that would trouble you[d]."
Bishop Hare says, the meaning of the apostle had been complete, had he stopped at ὑμῶν; " why then
" does he add τῆς πίστεως to ὑμῶν, *over your faith?*
" Not to make any distinction, as if he had do-
" minion over them in one respect, but not in an-
" other; no, he was not their *lord*, had no *domin-*

[b] Critici Sacri in loc.

[c] Biblia Maxima De La Haye in loc.

[d] Paraphrase and notes on the Epistles of St. Paul.

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" *ion* over them in any sense, or over any thing that " belonged to them, either their bodies, or minds, " or estates, or liberties, or any other thing. The " reason then I take to be partly this; it was their " *faith* that gave St. Paul any relation to them, it " was through him they had *believed*;"—his meaning then seems to be this; "Be not mistaken; we " do not, because you have been brought to the *faith* " by us, therefore pretend to a *dominion* over you, " or require you to transfer your *faith* from Christ " to us, as their false teachers did, who preached " not Christ, but themselves, and persuaded their " admirers to call themselves by their names. See " 1 Cor. i. 12."—"But the chief reason why the apo- " stle made that addition, and did not stop at ὑμᾶν, " *that* I take to be for the sake of what follows. " Having said many severe things in his former Epi- " stle, he thought fit in this to change his style, " they being now much reformed, and in better " temper; and therefore, being obliged to touch again " upon their late disorders, he does it with great le- " nity, expresses the most affectionate concern for " them, and takes every opportunity to mix com- " mendations with reproofs. To this end he adds " the word *faith*, that he might take occasion from " thence to commend them for their steadfastness in " it; which he does in the end of the verse, τῇ γὰρ " πίστει ἑστήκατε, *for by faith ye stand*[f]." It must certainly now appear to every unprejudiced reader, that this text, or phrase, is (as Dr. Waterland says) of "obscure meaning." But as to the latter part of our author's report, that "he," Dr. Waterland, "pre-

[f] Bishop Hare's Scripture Vindicated, p. 61, 62.

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" tends as if he knew not what to make of it;" he must give me leave to tell him, that Dr. Waterland *pretends* no such thing; and that it is not the doctor's way to pretend or intimate any thing, that might look like disrespect for a text of scripture. So far is the doctor from "pretending, as if he knew " not what to make of it," that he has really made more of it in one period, than this gentleman has done in a page; and [g] refers moreover to the learned author, some of whose words I have taken the liberty to transcribe above. The doctor claims nothing in opposition to St. Paul: he imposes nothing, *pro libitu;* he contends for no arbitrary power of punishing others for private ends and advantage; but only that pious Christians should have " do- " minion over their own consciences," and not be forced to join in the communion, and partake in the sins, of heretics. This is no more than exercising their right of private judgment, while joined in society, and acting as a society. Every fraternity claims the like right; and this writer claims as much, or more, to himself. As to church-censures, and the like, they cannot be disclaimed by the apostle in this passage; because it is certain he exercised them himself in excommunicating heretics. Such excommunication, therefore, cannot be that *dominion*, &c. which St. Paul disclaims; unless we can suppose the apostle, instead of the heretic, to be self-condemned. But of this, see bishop Hare, in the piece above referred to, particularly page 63.

[g] Importance, p. 505.

THE END.

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